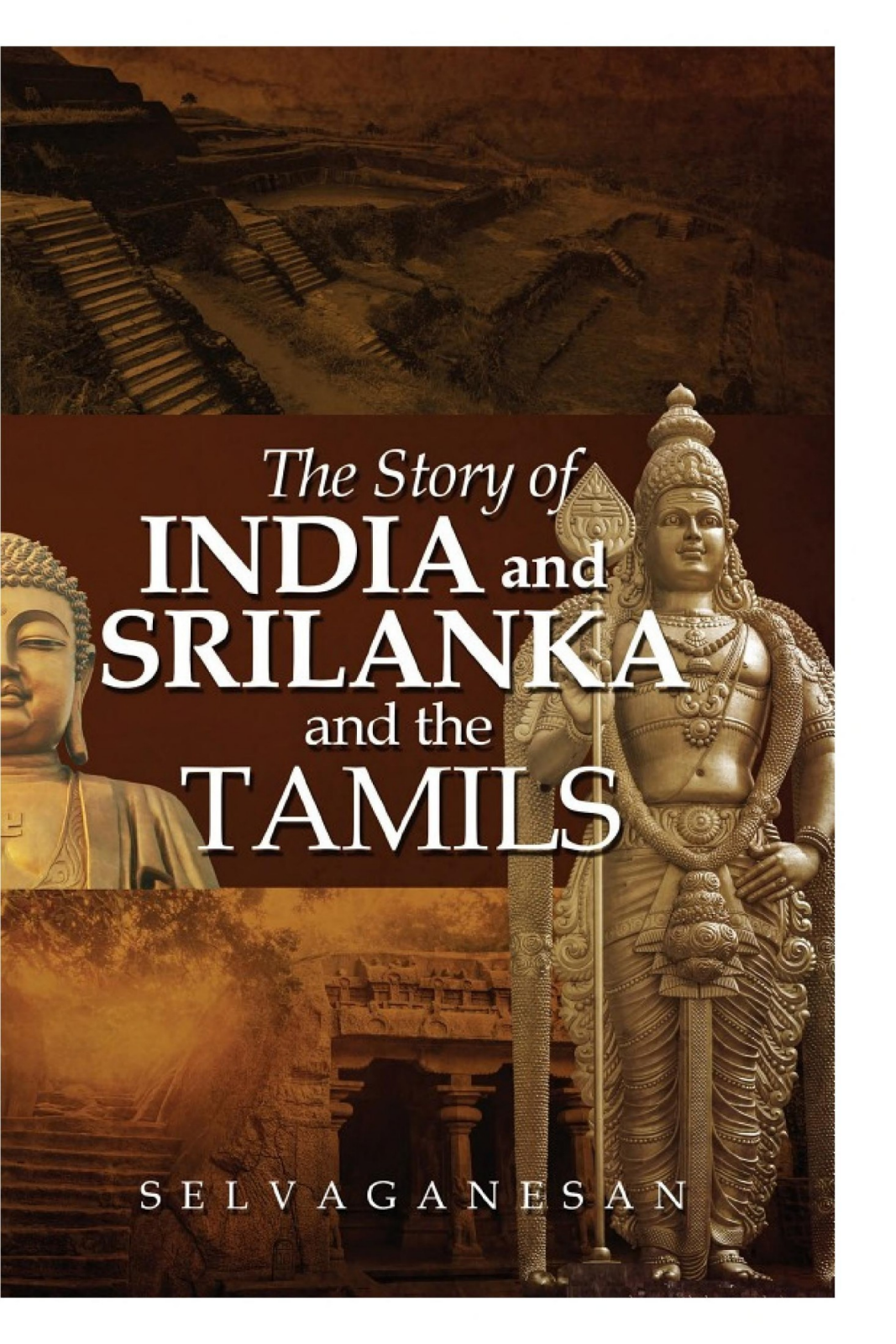




The Story of
INDIA and
SRILANKA
and the
TAMILS

SELVAGANESAN

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Edited by
G. Balasubramanian





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This book is dedicated to three leaders who influenced my life;

My Grandfather, M.Guruswamypillai who taught me the values of Education, Sincerity and Dedication!

Our former Chief Minister M.G.Ramachandran who extended unflinching commitment to the cause of Srilankan Tamils!

Our former Prime Minister P.V.Narasimha Rao whose vision made India as a growth engine of the world and for us to live as proud Indians!

Sontha Sagotharargal
Thunpabthil saathal kandum
Sinthai irangaradi kiliye
Semmai marantharadi

– Mahakavi Bharathi

Even if their own Brothens
Happen to languish to die in misery
These people won't pity for their plight!
And be moved down! - Oh dear parrot
They have forgotten and lost
All virtues and fairness!

– Mahakavi Bharathi

Military Cemeteries in Every Corner of the World are a Silent Testimony to the
Failure of National Leaders to Sanctify Human Life

– Yitzhak Rabin

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Foreword

The Author takes the readers through multiple and intertwined stories of India, Srilanka and the Tamils of respective countries. However, the Central Theme of the book is about the Freedom Struggle movement of Srilankan Tamils. For an Indian Tamil, his heart beats for his Motherland India and also for his own folks in Srilanka, equally and simultaneously; to him, the events in India - its social & political currents along with its economic development, which shall take the country in the path of progress and prosperity, are running parallel to the cause of the freedom movement of SL Tamils.

The Author has presented the history of the Srilankan Tamils' Freedom Struggle in four broad parts as below with a Prologue and an Epilogue;

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The first & second part of the book talks about the background of the Tamil people in India and in Srilanka; it talks about the broad mindset of the Tamils of both the mainland (India) and the island (Srilanka) in a limited way. Also this part discusses about the Political, Social and

economic sides of the people; each of these sides are discussed in **limited detail to the extent it supports the larger picture of the Tamils' aspirations (both Indian and Srilankan) and the Srilankan Tamil's struggle for self-rule.**

While presenting the Indian Tamil side of the history, the Author has discussed it in a very limited way in so far as it is necessary for the reference to the back-drop, through the topics such as the Dravidian movement, freedom struggle against the British, and the Religion.

While presenting the Srilankan side of the story, the Author has also talked about

- a) Disenfranchisement of the Indian Origin Tamils by the Srilankan State
- b) Scripting Sinhala only as the Official Language in the Srilankan constitution
- c) Reduced opportunities in the Professional and as well as Government services for the Srilankan Tamils
- d) Burning of Jaffna Library with rare and precious collection of books
- e) Mass violence and killings of Srilankan Tamils by

Buddhist Sinhalese aided and purported by the Srilankan State Administration

All the actions of Srilankan State as above, led to the demanding of a Separate Tamil Nation by the Vaddukottai Resolution (alternately spelt

as Vattukottai Resolution) and political leadership of Srilankan Tamils prompting the youngsters to take up the armed struggle route for the self-rule of Srilankan Tamils.

The book also talks about Tamil Nationalism in Tamilnadu which existed purely on an academic basis rather than being pursued seriously by any Tamil Nadu leader before and after Indian Independence.

The third part of the book deals with the growth of the Armed Movements of Srilankan Tamils, July 1983 pogrom, Indian Administration's strategic involvement at times self-serving due to misinterpretation of ground realities in Tamil regions of India and Srilanka, the wars between the militants and the Srilankan Government, expansion of the armed struggle, assassination of a former Prime Minister of India in a dastardly act of Terrorism, growth of India as an important global force, the expansion of LTTE as a Transcontinental Organization, and last but not the least, its establishment of a **defacto State** within Srilanka's Sovereign territory.

The fourth part of the book talks about the Norwegian brokered Peace effort, the inner reason for split in the LTTE by Karuna, the restless military leadership of Srilankan Tamils with unfocussed thoughts, effects of 9/11 in the Global politics and the clouded views of the Superpowers on the armed struggle, and the death and destruction effected on a large scale by the Srilankan State against its own people. Above all these things, finally, the book also deals with the remorseless Indian Administration that silenced Tamilnadu student's & people's

uprising amidst cries of War in 2009 that had culminated in the killing of all those Tamils including who had voluntarily surrendered, which would remain as a black mark in the history of mankind that could not be erased easily.

The final Part of the book talks about post-war incidents and future of the Tamils of Srilanka and the duties of the Indian Tamils, India and USA and their pending actions.

In Conclusion, this book provides all relevant facts to the avid readers who happen to be research scholars on and students of History, Political Science, Studies on Strategic Affairs, Origins of Militancy and Extremism, and International Diplomacy and such other allied subjects.

Research studies on wars and battlefields are a must not to win a war nor to wage further battles but to win peace, harmony and reconciliation. Moreover, it is also needed for reconstruction, rehabilitation and reformation of warravaged nations and people; these studies are quite essential to lead the mankind to a brighter and better tomorrow, where there will be no arms production/dealings and therefore armed struggle of any kind anywhere around the globe. I hope and believe that this book will direct the readers towards this noble goal.

The Author of this book, is my beloved elder son G.B.Selvaganesan, had recalled social and national events of his student days, and by doing further research has put together his thoughts in producing this book. It seems to have taken more than six-and-half years (due to his

commitment primarily to his job) for him to write this history that occurred during the latter half of 20th century and the first decade of 21st century.

“Puthiathor Ulagam Seivom;
Ketta Poridum Ulagathai verodu saipom”

- **Bharathidasan,**

The Present World is Bad!

Forever engaged in

Wars and Battles!

We shall route out and Destroy it!

And shall create a World

all New and fresh!

G. Balasubramanian

Deputy Director of Translations (Retd)

Tamilnadu Secretariat

Major Actors in the book

Government of India:

The Government of India has a Parliamentary democracy with the Prime Minister of India being the Executive Head. Indian Parliament has an Upper House (Rajya Sabha) and a Lower House (Lok Sabha); for the Lok Sabha, the members are directly elected from each of the constituency in India during the Parliamentary Elections by the first past the post electoral system. The elected members of the Lok Sabha chose the Prime Minister who then chooses his cabinet to govern the country.

India's Constitution has features of both Unitary and Federal Structure with the State Governments having powers with respect to Land and Police of the respective states. The constitutional structure gives enough space for the people to believe that their region is under their self-rule as the people are able to vote their respective State Governments to power during State Assembly elections, and also to vote for the Parliament of India during the Parliamentary elections.

Government of Srilanka:

Srilanka is a Unitary State with the Srilankan President being the Executive Head of the Government and is directly elected by the people of Srilanka. The members of the Parliament of Srilanka are elected

under a proportional representation basis and the members chose their Prime Minister and the Cabinet. Though the Prime Minister and the Cabinet also have the executive powers, the President is the highest Executive Head with absolute powers.

The nation is divided into many provinces with the Northern and Eastern Provinces of the Srilanka as the Tamil majority provinces. However, the Provincial Governments though exist in paper do not have adequate power to control the Provincial affairs. This is the major source of discontentment that gave birth to Militancy in Srilanka.

Government of Tamilnadu:

Tamilnadu is an Indian State under Union of India with a large Tamil speaking population of more than 70 million. The Chief Minister of Tamilnadu is the Executive Head and the Governor of the Tamilnadu is the Constitutional Head. The people of Tamilnadu have been the moral source of strength for the Srilankan Tamils in their fight against the Srilankan State.

LTTE:

The Tamil rebels or Freedom fighters of the Srilankan State – whichever side one would like to look at them

V. Prabhakaran

The Chief of the LTTE and also the founder of the Organization. He is referred in this book as Commander, or Supreme Commander or Warlord.

Tamils:

The identity as the Tamils for all Tamil speaking people is Universal and applies 70 million people spread in multiple countries in Asia - India, Srilanka, Singapore and Malaysia, with their homeland being parts of India and Srilanka together.

The Identity as Indian Tamils applies to all Tamil speaking Indians. The Identity as Srilankan Tamils refers to Tamil speaking Srilankans. The identity of 'Indian Origin Tamils' applies to the Tamil speaking Srilankans who are able to identify themselves as settlers from India to Srilanka 1850–1920. This was a clever Politically created identity by the Srilankan State.

IPKF:

Indian Peace Keeping Force of the Indian Army, sent by stationed in Srilanka between 1987–89, to halt ethnic escalations and war.

Prologue

The Struggle for self-rule of Srilankan Tamils had multiple strains of thought the dominant one being the formation of an Independent Nation, “Tamil Eelam.” The self-rule sought by Srilankan Tamils in the Tamil majority regions within Srilanka at various times post the Srilankan Independence included, Powers for Provincial Government to regulate the use of Land & control of Police forces, Provincial Autonomy, Independent statehood and an Independent Sovereign Nation.

However, the Srilankan State rejected every thought concerning Tamils’ political aspirations culminating to birth of many armed militant groups, principal among them being LTTE.

The result of such an armed militancy was war that lasted for nearly 30 years all around the Tamil Majority regions of Srilanka. None of the major actors, the Srilankan State, the LTTE and the Indian establishment cared for the cost of such a war, or the cost of winning or the cost of losing such a war. All the parties – the Srilankan Government, Tamil Militants and the Indian Government - at least in one point of time or another believed that war is the only means to justify the end. Of these above actors, The Armed Tamils groups of Srilanka and the Srilankan State were genuinely tearing at each other remorselessly though Srilankan Tamil population was at the receiving

end on most occasions. But the callous approach, monstrous attitude and utter disdain with which the Indian Diplomacy regarded the genuine grievance of common folks among the Srilankan Tamils and its conduct during the last few years of the war could never be easily erased from the Tamils' memory. A section of Tamils in Tamilnadu view this partisan attitude as a Policy of the Indian Administration towards Tamils of Srilanka; however the Babudom in the Government of India maintains that the Policy towards Srilanka is designed to serve India's strategic interests.

Many Nation States, including the United States certainly err on their Conception, understanding, design and execution of the Policy on Strategic Interests. The recent revelations by Snowden of US spying the Europeans is a unique example of absurdity of actions and its result of **overzealous 'Intelligence Officials' trying to do their jobs that was neither expected nor ordained to be accomplished by them from their high commands.** So, the deeper meaning of such Strategic interests as understood by eager-beavers in the Diplomatic and Counter-Intelligence channels is always questionable and most certainly wrong as the two world wars had taught the nations and its rulers fitting lessons about ruinous ill effects of such zeal. The depth of the ills committed by Indian Diplomats during this Srilankan Tamils' Freedom struggle, by hoodwinking its people in the name of Strategic Interests, will not go away certainly for many decades; the passage of time transcending generations would allow them to reconcile with the past, if Justice that has been denied, is restored to the Srilankan Tamils.

On the other hand, if Alvin Tofler's 'Third Wave' is true, then the likes of Larry Page, Sergey Brin and Mark Zuckerberg would have freed this world and its people from war, blood and cannibalism. Then their services to humanity, the network of human via web Universe, would be regarded much greater than what Buddha, Jesus Christ and Mahatma Gandhi had attempted over the past two and half millennia.

The Back-drop



1

Life in India and Srilanka during the last 100 years of British Rule (1850–1947)

Jules Verne, Author of wonderful travelogues and Father of Scientific Fiction, wrote in his book “Around the World in Eighty Days,” *“the British Crown exercises a real and despotic dominion over the larger portion of the land called India to the extent of seven hundred thousand square miles out of fourteen hundred thousand square miles.”* Jules Verne though did not mention about India’s neighbors in this book, the adjectives in his description of the British rule in India also applies to the present day Srilanka, Bangladesh and Pakistan. The book published during 1870s not only describes the breadth of direct control of the British in India, but also gives us an indication that still vast tracts of land in India was controlled by Kings or local chieftains, who were fiercely independent retaining, their veil over the rest of territories (though some of them were indirectly controlled by the British Empire). However, the principal cities including, Delhi, Bombay, Calcutta and Madras (the present day Chennai) were then firmly under the control of the British under the respective Governors.

Traditionally in India, the school children learn that the British had plundered the wealth of this nation during three hundred years of their

presence firstly by the East India Company and then by the British Empire. To advance this argument, the most important statistical figure quoted for substantiation of such a pillage is, India's share of world economy was 23% in the beginning of 1800s dropped to a single digit in 1940s, now shrunk to 4% in 2010. If anyone investigates the relevant data, the constituents of wealth or GDP calculation of an economy until the Industrial revolution of 18th century had been agricultural produce, textiles, cattle and ships; whereas at the beginning of 19th century and in the next 200 years till today, the constituents of the GDP in an economy had changed a lot, and now is completely different. When we account for this difference, we would realize what caused the slide in India's share in the world economy than merely blaming the British rule.

In the past, the reason for vast share of world's produce was because of tropical nature of our country's climate that served us liberally, which was a luxury in the eyes of Western Nations (read especially the British), until they could conquer their weather gods by technological manipulations enabling a round-the-year production and economic activity, from the beginning of the Industrial revolution.

The Industrial revolution in the 18th and early 19th century of Europe redefined the scope of a Nation's economy with addition of industries of small, medium and large scales, communication networks such as Railways, Post & Telegraphs, Luxuries, goods & services in addition to then existing Primary sectors. As the economic activities widened with array of avenues and opportunities, a new entrepreneurial class

emerged and invested in Factories, Transport & Telecommunication Enterprises and Mines. As operational requirements of these assets needed individuals to be trained in some formal & technical education, such individuals formed part of India's middle-class, due to their higher levels of income and education.

East India Company, a joint-stock company promoted by the British to trade and prosper by anchoring in India came to the country in early 1600s; they established their business in India by looting the vast agricultural produce, exploiting the innate differences within the Indian communities to become the rulers. However, they also began to employ Indians in vast numbers at the lowest grades to do all hard manual labor. Until early 1800s, the East India Company had employed only Europeans in the Supervisory roles. In order to expand their business in India, for maximizing their profit transfer to Europe, the Company established English language schools (for teaching technical education) to produce clerks, factory shop workers, accountants that also incidentally, and at times deliberately, aided in changing the local culture and their habits. Around this period, India started losing the status as one of the leading economies of the world, to lack of Technical education which had been primarily taught only in the European languages and also due to lack of modern mechanized Industries. Though the English education schools and colleges had started functioning from 1830s, it took time for the Indian middle class mass in adapting to and assimilating the scientific methods in all activities from building Industries to transforming their own society. It was

observed that during 1800–50s, the literacy levels were very poor at around 10% and rose to 18% at the dawn of Indian Independence. At the early periods of East India Company rule and much earlier during the Moghul rule, the schools in India had taught only the Arabic, Persian or Sanskrit and these had also been the court languages. The East India Company on the record had donated to schools that have taught Persian, Arabic and Sanskrit languages. Whereas, in some other parts of India including Tamilnadu, the local language schools had found patronage from the local population.

Though the process of transformation of Indians in acquiring the European Technical education and advanced scientific education was slow, a section of Indians who had been Merchants or part of Upper section of the Society or Courtiers from the Moghul period, swiftly adapted to the emerging social order.

In the latter half of 19th century and early part of the 20th century, the British rule was shaping up the people of sub-continent by Institutionalizing legal systems, judicial systems, and finally a system of limited self-rule for the people in the sub-continent. The British continued to expand roadways, railways, telegraphs and Postal services and built educational institutions that endlessly supplied the required number of cadre for the British Lords to govern the people of the sub-continent. The uniqueness of any Institutional process is that it throws up a number of by-products to the surprise of the very people who built those institutions. This was becoming very evident as quite a number of Upper-Class and Merchant communities across the sub-continent

began to realize fruits of these Governance Structure and started regaining their loss to East India Trading Company that began from latter part of 1600s.

Rich Merchants & farmers invested in Cotton, agricultural produce, cardamom, coffee, tea and started setting up large business units across the sub-continent to make money. Agricultural produce of the sub-continent was largely aided by fertile lands, watered by numerous small and large rivers meandering through hills, valleys, plains and limpid streams, that were a joy of sight to every soul on the earth.

They also started investing in small machineries, hotels, restaurants and promoted India's first Stock-Exchange in Bombay (present day Mumbai) to mobilize Capital for their business and also to Trade their denominated Capital of their business enterprises. The formal structure of the business, enterprises needed people to support its institutionalized growth and expansion. The English medium schools and the Indian language medium schools & polytechnic institutions produced accountants, clerks and factory shop workers filling up the requirements of the Industrial and Business units. This allowed the Indian minds to see an emerging social order that was vastly different from that of the era of Indian Monarchs. Society had then identified itself with the layers of educated and illiterate sections and as well as layers of economically affluent, middle-class and the poor. Collectively, the Indian minds were similar across vast geographies of Indian Sub-continent only at varying intensity which included present day India and also Srilanka, Pakistan and Bangladesh.

In addition to the emergence of Business and Industrial units – the Indian Civil Service, the Indian Military Academy, Banks, Courts and Medical Institutions supported an emergence of Aristocracy among the young Indians. The young Indians with European Lingo who were reaping economic fruits, were enjoying peaceful & leisurely life which were at times luxurious. Their self-esteem was high and broad; simultaneously they also saw their environment which were locked in high-handed British rule, a selfdefeating mindset of the Indian people - entangled in poverty, illiteracy, black magic, hooliganism, caste & religious divide and slavery accompanied with the practice of Sati. The high self-esteem of the young Indians then could not tolerate these social ills; they formed a plethora of organizations across the sub-continent each with an Independent agenda but tersely a common goal of liberating the ills surrounding their countrymen. A new wave of energy was set in motion and All India Congress Party was formed which initially was started as a Home Rule Movement. Though the voice against the British started spreading across Indian sub-continent, the leadership and freedom movements centered in Calcutta and New Delhi, the Capital cities of India during the British Raj, in Bombay the business Capital of India, and in Madras the southern regional capital.

The Tamil region of India gave rise to a number of leaders during the freedom struggle; Chenbagaraman Pillai, a Tamilian coined the word Jai Hind to ignite a nationalistic passion. When Netaji founded Indian National Army in Singapore, a large number of his initial forces were Tamils. Tamil poet Mahakavi Subramania Bharathi wrote poems,

edited newspapers and magazines stirred up Patriotic feeling and dreamt of wonderful Union called India. V.O.Chidamparampillai (V.O.C) took on the British by floating a Merchant fleet and thereby sounded death knell to the British coffers. The British Government could not stomach direct attack on its coffers; so by direct and indirect methods they killed the V.O.C's Merchant fleet business. V.O.C was sent to jail and two life sentences was awarded to him and he was forced to manually grind oil in the jail, a job traditionally done by the tamed domestic animals.

Colonial rule in Srilanka though existed in similar lines of India it did not meet serious resistance as in India. The reasons could be that in Srilanka, the British had brought the entire judicial and administrative system and formed an Executive Council and a Legislative Council as early as in 1833 by the recommendations of Colebrook-Cameron Commission. As advised by the Commission, the British had introduced ethnic representation in the Srilankan Legislature early in 1833, wherein Srilankan Tamils along with other ethnic communities and the Sinhalese were given equal representation.

The equal representation did not mean Tamils and Sinhalese were treated equally; in fact they were given a symbolic one member representation for each of the two communities and the majority were the Europeans in the ruling Legislature and this "equal representation" was maintained till 1920s. One should also note that later when the Civil Services was introduced in Srilanka both the Sinhalese and the Srilankan Tamils had opposed the presence of Indians in their Civil

Service; whereas, in Nepal or Bhutan the British were able to absorb Indians in the Civil services, Indians were not entertained in civil services of Srilanka.

If the Tamils of India with the rest of the Indians were rising against the British rule in India, the Tamils of Srilanka did one step further in Srilanka. They were the first one to form a Political front (Congress Party) in Srilanka to fight and to gain independence from the British rule in Srilanka. The well educated young Srilankan Tamils recognized the plight of their countrymen under British rule. The forward looking youths unitedly put their heart and head together to fight against the British. But since the native Srilankan Tamils were numerically less than 20% of the total population of Srilanka, their voices were not loud enough during the final stages of the British Raj. Some of them realized their plight in the post-independent era and chose to settle abroad especially in Canada during the Second World War.

2

Economic and Educational Opportunities in Srilanka: Pre-Independence

By early 19th century the British had conquered all of Srilanka and ruled it till 1948. During this period they invested in Tea/ coffee plantations in central and southern Srilanka and created administrative structures across the Island nation. The British rulers needed people for physical labour to work in the plantations and also people in clerical and technical jobs for their Administrative work. The Srilankan natives both the Sinhalese and the Srilankan Tamils were taken into for clerical roles, and for manual labour in plantations Tamils from India were brought into Srilanka. The reason was, though the Srilankans were under the British rule, they were economically better off than the Indians.

Till the early twentieth century, for hundred years or so, the main stay of the Srilankan economy had been Tea/ Coffee Plantations, agriculture and allied activities that resulted in fair share of economic dividends for locals of Central, Southern and Western Srilanka as the lands in these regions were relatively more fertile. In, the North and Eastern regions of the Srilanka which had Srilankan Tamils as majority, the lands were less fertile and hence the Tamil regions had

lesser opportunities in these sectors.

The Srilankan Tamils turned this situation in their favour. As the British were establishing administrative structure, the Srilankan Tamils joined Civil service jobs in very large numbers as most of them were particular about education and economic progress. During this period, though the native Srilankan Tamils who constituted less than 20% of the total population of Srilanka, they occupied a near 50% of the Civil Services jobs. One can infer that the advancement of the Srilankan Tamil society was primarily because of their focus in education and a progressive outlook but was not because of any particular favour from the British rulers. However the Sinhalese completely misunderstood the correct reasons for larger presence of the Tamils in Civil Service as this had been the grouse of the Sinhalese against the Tamils. In contrast, the Tamils from India who constituted more than 7% of the population during early 20th century, were working in Plantations without much economic or educational opportunities. The ethnic Srilankan Tamils who were constantly in search of their educational and economic progress, moved beyond the shores of Srilanka to Malaysia and Singapore and contributed to the progress of those nations.

After the First World War, the British introduced a series of Constitutional reforms in Srilanka; the first reform was brought in 1921 to amend the ethnic representation in the then Srilankan Legislature. Post the amendment, the ethnic representation in the Srilankan Legislature would become proportional to the population whereas in

the earlier scenario each ethnic group had equal representation. As the Sinhalese were the majority in Srilanka the amendment would have given them a majority in the Legislature as well. The Srilankan Tamils viewed this amendment as detrimental to them and opposed this move by the British. Though some of the Tamils had accepted this proposition from the British rulers, the others who decided to oppose the reforms brought by the British formed a new party called Tamil Mahajana Sabha, with a view to solve the problems of the Srilankan Tamil population arising from the changed representation in the Srilankan Legislature.

Some Srilankan Tamils felt that due to changes in the constitution, their powers in the legislative affairs would become null thus depriving their major source of economic and educational opportunities in future. The fear was more because, Srilanka was an agrarian based economy at that point of time and fertile regions were owned by the Sinhalese, and the Civil Service was the major source of economic opportunity then for the Srilankan Tamils.

For the interested reader a revisit of the history in ethnic representation would be of help. In 1833, when the British introduced ethnic representation in the Srilankan Legislature with one member each from Srilankan Tamil and Sinhalese community, it was thought as equal representation of both the communities; in fact, the British did it as a symbolic representation. Srilankan historians generally believed it as a skewed representation that had helped in the progress of the Srilankan Tamils and the British rule favoured the Srilankan Tamils.

This view is true, if one analyses this information from the current period; however, during the 1800s there were not much Organized Government jobs or public sector jobs. The livelihood of the people was dependent mostly on the Farm produce and cattle rearing in the sub-continent. The Sinhalese occupied more fertile lands that favoured agriculture, plantation and farm activities that provided them with jobs and economic opportunities; whereas the regions occupied by the Srilankan Tamils were generally coastal in nature, the land on a comparative scale not blessed with same degree of natural resources, and so the major means of economic progress for the Srilankan Tamils were the jobs they would earn through their Technical Education, Higher Education, and Civil Services. As their means of livelihood was largely because of the job opportunities in the Civil Services, the Srilankan Tamils demanded the British to maintain the representation in the Srilankan Legislature.

Though there were few more reforms brought in by the British rulers after 1921, none of them acceded to the plea by the Srilankan Tamils for a 50–50 representation in the Srilankan Parliament. So, the differences in the perception of the various communities about the life and economic opportunities that would arise post-independence in Srilanka, allowed new groups to be formed on the ethnic lines at the point of time of Independence. The Srilankan Tamils identified themselves with Tamil Congress whereas the Sinhalese with the UNP (United National Party) and SLFP (Srilankan Freedom Party); there was a Left Party too though it did not have a significant presence in the

politics.

3

Economic and Educational Opportunities in India: Pre-Independence

The subcontinent had rich legacy of monarchy until the British invaded and ruled Indians. The British built a formal education system for one and all, hitherto unknown to a large section of Indians who were serving the politically blessed sections of the society. Earlier, Monarchs, Businessmen and the Priests were lucky to be trained to read write, and a few among them were educated enough to rise and to hold elite positions. But, when the British introduced formal system of schooling, it brought revolutionary change as a new layer – the middle class – emerged; thereby, the formal system also enabled rulers to build Institutions to support Trade, Healthcare, Communication, Travel, Judiciary and Governance which previously functioned only at the will and wish of the monarchs.

The result was evident; Arts, Literature, Healthcare, Education and Entertainment media flourished independently without major controlling stakes for the ruling class. The process of Institutionalization helped people to develop independent opinion, to exchange ideas, discuss, debate and publish which were not easy during monarchy, as all such interactions of the people, invariably

drew the attention and patronage/reprimand of the rulers.

However, the groups that enjoyed the fruits during Monarchic rule, continued to steal the benefits of formal education and the institutions being built by Raj. But, the society at large that was observing the changes woke up and demanded stakes in these Institutions and a fair share of economic prosperity. The tension and the tussle slowly began to surface in the society; Left-oriented ideas for welfare governance were debated and discussed many times but were dismissed at a blink. The division of Upper class and the lower class began visible and social tensions mounted. The Upper Class across the sub-continent were usually the Upper Castes or the regional rulers, and lower strata had become low castes.

During early 20th century when the British threw up a limited self-governance for the Indians after a period of continuous struggle by the Home Rule Movement (which later evolved as Indian National Congress Party), and also as a result of the support from the Indians for the British during the First World War, a large section of the non-Upper Class till then not represented in power structure during the British Raj were elated.

In the year 1916, in Madras presidency, people of non-Upper Class under Singaravelar decided to form an independent political outfit – Justice Party, one different from that of the Congress Party to fight the local elections and capture power; this move dramatically altered the sociopolitical scenario in the Tamil regions of India. The party won the local elections and remained in power for few years. However, in the

perception of the Justice Party leaders, the gains seemed to be limited for the less privileged people as the vast sections of them were not literate; the party and its leaders in power were impatient for the changes to be carried along in a democratic manner.

In early 1930s, when Periyar E.V.R resigned from Congress Party and joined the Justice Party, the Party decided to move to a different platform with a decision to abandon the idea of occupying power by democratic means, and took up leftist politics of wide ranging agitations demanding far reaching changes. Justice Party was then rechristened as Dravidar Kazhagam and transformed itself as a Rationalist Movement - Movement of Atheism - denying existence of God and also thereby denying existence of Ghosts.

The Dravidar Kazhagam party workers took to streets and impressed the people to get educated and to drop age old beliefs by espousing scientific thoughts; they fought against black magic rumor mongers, untouchability, and social Ostracisation of Dalits, and also fought for Dalits' right for entry into temples, etc. However, in terms of numbers, only very limited or minuscule section of the population completely immersed itself with all of those ideals (like denying existence of God and the Ghost), still the impact of such ideals in the society were far reaching and had a wider sweep cutting across all and sundry.

It is interesting to note that the Leftist ideologies and the Dravidian ideology converged to become a formidable opposition, and this convergence perhaps weakened the Left movement in Tamilnadu and invariably strengthened Dravidian Movement.

Periyar EVR did not believe in the democratic process and demanded Dravidanadu comprising all the Southern Indian regions as his belief systems were running contrary to Mahatma Gandhi's faith. However, it is important to note that during this period – from 1930 to 1947 - there were no singular leader or a single agitation that challenged (nor even had intentions to challenge) the establishment to demand secession, either through a mass movement or through an armed rebellion. There were a number of resolutions passed in the meetings for carving out a separate nation called Dravidanadu; however, most of these were political intents and statements, and did not seem to have any vision for creation of separate State called Dravidanadu. The Top Leadership of the Dravidar Kazhagam and Justice Party, their second rung leaders and the party men were more seemed to focus on social re-engineering, eradication of poverty, illiteracy, child-marriage, blind faiths like black magic, Ghost worship and all similar social ills.

Secession was last in their minds; the people who rather tamely demanded secession of Dravidanadu fantasized that all social ills can be cured by an independent Southern Nation called Dravidanadu rather than remaining united under the Union of India. **All academic research reveals that separation was not demanded to carve an Independent Political identity of the people, rather demand was aimed at removing the social ills pervading across the sub-continent.** This conclusion is a death-knell to everyone who seem to delude on the idea that southerners, especially Tamils were demanding an independent nation during the 1930–60s, and later reluctantly

reconciled due to the threat from the Nehru – Congress Government.

4

Religious Identity of Tamils and Sinhalese

If one looks up the map of India and Srilanka, one can very easily see that the island in the shape of a teardrop brushing the southern extreme border of India, the State of Tamilnadu, which has close to 70 million native Tamil speakers. In ancient Tamil literature, there are several pointers to the existence of a continuous large mass of land in the coast of southern Tamilnadu, which had been taken over by the sea. The author believes that a section of the large portion of the land (or the full extent of the land) that had been taken over by sea was the connecting land mass between India and Srilanka; if it could be proved true, then Tamilnadu of India and Srilanka was a single land mass with a section of Srilanka and a section of India as homeland of Tamils.

It means technically an Island nation of Srilanka did not exist independently but existed as a south-western border of India thousands of years ago. On the other hand, even in case if the Tamil region of India and Srilanka is not connected by a piece of land ever since the growth of human civilization, the sea levels between the two Landmass are even today so narrow and shallow (where the depth of sea could be measured between 4–100 feet only, between India and Srilanka) for easy movement from the mainland to the Island; also, it

was quite possible to cross from one side to another side without a passport or visa or any travel document until few decades ago.

Whenever there was a trouble in the Island, the folks in Tamilnadu were able to quickly reach out to people in the Island for needed help without looking for any directions from New Delhi or Bethlehem. In today's altered environment, Tamils of India are weighed down by geopolitical inertia, and so are not in a position to help Srilankan Tamils in the same way as it had been for ages.

Ancient Tamils of India had a very long history of war with Sinhala Buddhists of Srilanka, and it has been acknowledged that the Hindu kings of Tamilnadu had always crushed them in repeated battles save few occasions. The Sinhalese always had seen the Tamils across the Palk straits as their enemies, perhaps more as Hindu (Saivite) enemies than Tamil enemies. The Great Chinese Traveller Hiuen Tsang who visited India had learnt a lot about Srilanka from the Buddhists of India of that period. During the course of his stay in India, it is believed that Hiuen Tsang did not visit Srilanka, apparently on the advice of the some of the Buddhists in India whom he had met in Kanchipuram, one of the most famous cities of ancient Tamilnadu and also one of the great centres of Learning in India. It is believed that the travelling Chinese Scholar learnt about the Buddhist Temples, monks, cities and rulers of Srilanka from the travelling Sinhala Buddhists in Kanchipuram. However, the travelling Buddhists of Srilanka had advised the Chinese scholar against visiting Srilanka for the security reasons.

The Later Cholas, principal among them Raja Raja Chola and his son Rajendra Chola were the followers of Saivism (Hinduism), had fought many wars against the Sinhala Kings decimating the Island rulers. The Buddhist Sinhala Kings could never be safe among these marauding rulers of Tamilnadu (who are called as the Saivaites or the Hindus) for many centuries. This situation changed with the expansion of the Vijayanagar Empire, which rose up to prominence as saviors of Hindus from the invading Islamic rulers when Chola Empire was no more powerful enough in South India to counter any invading Armies.

During the later Centuries of the 2nd Millennium AD, the European Rulers who had conquered and ruled the sub-continent for more than 300 years gave rise to huge opportunities in education and employment for the people of Island Nation, and positioned their Capital Colombo as an important Port city for the ships passing through the Indian Ocean. The Buddhists who were the major religious group had a strained relationship with Christian European rulers. During the European rule after the annexation of Jaffna Kingdom, the Srilankan Tamils played a subdued role very much in line with the other ethnic groups in the sub-continent. But over a period of time, the Sinhalese had developed a distrust with the Tamils whom they believed to have appropriated unfairly high share of Government jobs rolled out by the British.

Twentieth century had witnessed two World Wars and many more regional wars in the name of religious, ethnic, color, language divide; but the wars also gave huge scope for reconciliation of the differing

communities. The fact that it gave huge scope for reconciliation did not stop the Buddhist Sinhalese from targeting the ethnic Tamils of Srilanka. **The Buddhists religious leadership of the Island Nation who were waiting for more than 800 years to hit back the weakened Hindus (Tamils of Srilanka), never allowed their political leaders a choice of reconciliation** between the ethnic group, and provoked them towards Tamil bashing in the blink of an eye in every given opportunity in the State affairs. The result was disenfranchisement of 900,000 Tamils in 1948, Sinhala only act of 1956, violence in 1957, various controversial constitutional provisions in 1972, forced settlements of the Sinhalese in the Eastern and Northern provinces of Srilanka who in turn threatened local Tamils living in that area, excessive police actions and State sponsored attacks against Tamils by law enforcing agencies from 1972 till 1983, burning of Jaffna library in 1981, and finally the July 1983 pogrom. The sum of all the atrocities committed by the Srilankan rulers and their hardliners built up rage in the Srilankan Tamil minds resulting in unflinching commitment to armed struggle against the State by the SL Tamils. In one of the very brash attempts to create the divide between the Tamils and the rest of India, the Buddhist Sinhalese identified themselves as settlers in the Island nation from non-Tamil speaking regions of North India, and the Srilankan Tamils as the settlers from Tamilnadu!

The Plot



5

Srilanka after Independence

Post-World War II, on 4th of February 1948, Ceylon the present day Srilanka, attained Independence from the British Rule with Dominion Status and became part of the Commonwealth of Nations. After two and half decades in 1972, it became Democratic Socialistic Republic of Srilanka and remains a Unitary State. Spread across 65000 Sq.Km in the Indian Ocean at the tail of India, its Capital Colombo serves as an important Port for ships moving through from Africa and Middle-East to Singapore, Malaysia and up to Australia. Blessed with abundant rainfall and amazing forest cover this Serendib Island in the Indian Ocean has natural harbors and lovely beaches and remains as an important tourist destination for both East and the West.

Out of the 65,000sqkm of the Landmass the Northern and Eastern part of the Srilanka is occupied by the SL Native Tamils whose homeland is Srilanka. The Srilankan Tamils region comprise Vavuniya, Mullaitivu, Killinochi, Jaffna and Mannar districts in Northern province and Trincomalee, Ampara and Batticola in the Eastern province with majority Tamil population. However, due to war for nearly 30 years, presently only less than 50% of the total Srilankan Tamil population live in these Districts with the rest moving mostly to Colombo and other Southern regions of Srilanka. Northern and

Eastern regions together constitute roughly 18000sq.km which is slightly less than 30% of the Srilankan Landmass, with Jaffna being the Cultural Capital of the Tamils who still have the descendants of Kingdom of Jaffna Peninsula. Srilanka produces and exports Coffee, Tea, Gemstones and rubber and these remain as the mainstay of the Economy; the country is rated very highly in the Human Development Index despite a raging Civil War for 30 long years.

In 1948, United National Party, UNP, that formed Government in Srilanka immediately disenfranchised around 900,000 Tamils as Indians creating an ethnic divide. The Party also had a huge Buddhist Sinhala chauvinists in their ranks blocking the interests of Srilankan Tamils in the administration of the new Government.

The number of disenfranchised would then constitute 12% of the Srilankan population in 1948. The disenfranchised Tamils were the migrants from India since the beginning of 19th century as plantation workers and most of them had adopted Srilanka as their mother land. The reason for disenfranchisement of the Indian Origin Tamils was simple enough to state that they along with Srilankan Tamils together would constitute a near 30% of the Srilanka population which could turn out to be a very powerful force politically in a democracy. This created a serious problem among the Tamils of Indian Origin and needed the attention of the Government of India to take up the status of Citizenship with the Srilankan Government that lingered for decades. The Srilankan Tamils began to realize the pains of increasing clout of Sinhalese in Administration and their discriminatory attitude

towards the Tamil speaking people. The Tamil Congress that aligned with the UNP to join the National Government, felt let down completely with this development and started feeling that their interests are being alienated in their home-land.

Resenting the move, a group of party men in Tamil Congress led by S.J.V.Chelvanayakam, broke-away from the political alignment with UNP, and formed Federal Party a new Political voice of the Srilankan Tamils.

The ethnic division within Tamils created by the Srilankan Government was a crafty master-class political stroke and made the world to believe it as though those lines existed for millenniums.

Few years later, in 1956 National elections of Srilanka, the Federal Party that was fighting for a fair share of power for the Tamil speaking people of Srilanka fought the elections independently, and won majorly in Tamil regions, The Sri Lanka Freedom Party, SLFP, fought this election on the Sinhala Language only platform and won the mandate to form the Government. Immediately after forming the Government, SLFP introduced the Sinhala only act replacing Sinhala with English as the only national and Administrative Language. The act was a blow to the people who were communicating in Tamil with Srilankan Government. The act was seriously resisted by the Srilankan Tamils and violence broke out between the two communities.

The Sinhala only Act left a bitter taste among the Srilankan Tamils who thought they were betrayed by both the major parties of Srilanka - UNP and SLFP - one that disenfranchised the Indian Origin Tamils and

the other that disallowed use of their language in with Government impacting the communication in their day-to-day life with the Civil Service.

The year 1956 was not a distant period from 1940s which saw the non-violent methods as means of meeting people's aspirations in the sub-continent. Hence despite the twin blows by both the major Srilankan political parties, UNP and SLFP, the Srilankan Tamils and their Leadership believed that non-violence as advocated by Mahatma Gandhi would be the best way in solving their problems. Pursuing the same ideals, two years later, Bandaranayaka-Chelvanayagam reached an accord that was hailed as a major reconciliation between the communities by the moderates of the Island Nation.

The accord restored in part reversing the earlier Sinhala only Act with Tamil also along with Sinhala only Act. It meant in the North-Eastern areas where the majority Tamil population live, they can continue to interact with the Government in Tamil, as Tamil was accorded administrative language of the Northern & Eastern provinces though, the Sinhala only act was retained at the National level. Ever since this episode, the Federal Party has become the most important Political voice of the Tamils of Srilanka. The Federal Party in the course of later periods took up the avatar as TUF (Tamil United Front), and then as TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) and presently as TNA (Tamil National Alliance).

6

India After Independence

The day 15th of August, 1947, was the beginning of destiny and deliverance of India. Indians would no more listen to the dictates of foreigners; Indians would decide what to produce, how to produce and whom to produce. They might have had nearly 80% of its people as illiterates, but they taught the world the power of non-violence. They taught the intellectuals of the world that illiteracy would never be a limitation in acquiring knowledge and freedom. They embraced universal adult suffrage empowering women and illiterates to exercise their right to vote in the elections immediately after the Independence. There had never been a disappointment with that decision as they had never allowed a dictator to rule them. Still, having won their freedom in 1947, they had more problems in their plate to solve immediately, in the medium term and in the long term.

The British divided the country as per the Mountbatten Plan as India and Pakistan with Hindu and Muslim majority regions going to the two countries respectively. The partition of India had created a rebellion among the people leading to violence in both the countries. The violence had led to huge loss of human life and properties on both sides of the communities. It took several weeks for some of the regions to resume normal life from – North to South and East to West.

The Government of India, which was then a care taker Government in 1947 and did its best as their Leaders had to calm down the people of various communities in different regions; they also had an onerous task of building trust with the people that they were capable to deliver the promises. There were resistances in some regions to be part to India and those had to be appropriately dealt with. Iron man of India Vallabhai Patel was credited with unifying the different regions of India under the single Nation-State. Constitution of India, designed by Dr.Ambedkar ensured that there are enough provisions that would take care of regional aspirations and as well the National priorities. In the intervening period, when Srilanka disenfranchised 900000 Tamils, the Indian Leaders did not know how to engage and deal with a foreign country, Srilanka. As it was the period wherein due to partition, the people of different regions were either moving in to India or moving out of India; the author believes that the Indian Leaders perhaps saw a similarity in the disenfranchisement decision of the Srilankan State and did nothing immediately. The leaders also seemed to have thought that the disenfranchised Tamils can lead their life in India. It was a mistake that was never understood in depth.

The Constitution of India was designed with a Federal approach extending enough power to State Governments to maintain the Law and Order, Land use and adequate powers for development of economic activities and employment opportunities for locals in the respective regions. The foreign policy was designed in such a way that India would remain neutral to the Bipolar World of Post-World War II.

The economic policy was designed to encourage the Entrepreneurial culture but with a severely guarded view; the leftist influence limited the width that would be given to the local Entrepreneurs which in the long run impacted the economic expansion of the country. One should also bear in mind that the entrepreneurial culture of the day was in general aligned with the Merchant communities of India who were then very particular to the profits they earn without any regards for the pains of the labour force. Not many organized large-scale businesses were present at that time and neither were expected to come up sooner; so, then the choice of the Government was Mixed Economy wherein the Government and the Private business were to exist side-by-side. Notwithstanding the leftist thoughts and Orientation, the efforts of the Government till early 1960s was well on course for Industrial expansion in India, considering the Cost of Capital and Technology for the businesses to take off through Private Investments alone in those early decades of Free India.

7

Economic and Educational Opportunities in Srilanka - Post Independence

The Srilankan Tamils after their Independence from the British, continued to dominate in Civil Services and as well in Professional services such as Doctors, Lawyers, and Engineers; in terms of proportion, they constituted more than 50% of those occupations. This is because, Srilankan Tamils especially from Jaffna were a better educated community and continued to corner all white-collar jobs both pre and post-independence.

During the initial years of post-Independence, the Government of Srilanka earned the British support for all their geographical defence requirements. The British support helped Srilanka to cap their defence expenses at 5% of their GDP resulting in availability of financial resources for Capital expenses and other critical expenses. In those times, the Prime Minister of Srilanka, Sir Kotelawala who was also the executive head of Srilanka in 1953–55 was a proponent of free market; he differed with the economic policies of India and the Indian Government's political views for the developing world. The Prime Minister of Srilanka made loud divergent views with India during international conferences, and earned the ire of then India's Prime

Minister Jawaharlal Nehru. In the early 1950s Srilanka was willing to look forward to partner with the Western powers and share their ideas and dreams; the Prime Minister of Srilanka was also dismissive about left oriented thoughts and India's priorities for developing countries.

The Federal Party ever since its formation in 1949, was advocating the non-violent principles in solving the Political partnership problems of the Srilankan Tamils Vs the Sinhalese ; its agenda stood for a Federal Structure of Governance in Srilanka with a view to have a limited self-Governance in the Northern & Eastern regions of Srilanka. It means similar to governance structure in India to have a State and Central Governments wherein the Land, Police and local Governance remained with the State Government, whereas Defence, Foreign affairs, and Currency remaining with the Central Government. Another important agenda was the Two Language Policy wherein both Sinhala and Tamil to be the National Languages of Srilanka.

This was Contrary to the Buddhist Sinhalese who thought that the Island Nation is the last bastion of Theravada Buddhism wherein the scope for other religions or ethnic group is completely to be discouraged. The Srilankan Tamil intelligentsia recognized the diametrically opposite view of the Sinhalese hardliners with respect to the Political partnership. However, in 1950s the aura of Mahatma Gandhi in the sub-continent and in particular among the Srilankan Tamils, was so powerful that it did not encourage the thoughts of a armed militant movement within the Srilankan Tamil community.

From 1961 to 1970 various policies and actions of Srilanka, continued

to refrain from addressing the major demands of the Srilankan Tamils, although at various time hopes were raised. At the time of Independence, the Srilankan Tamils had close to 60% of the jobs in the Srilanka's Civil Service and also more than 50% of share in the higher education and professional jobs of Srilanka. As discussed earlier, the Sinhalese who occupied the most fertile regions of Srilanka and owned Plantations were not interested in the Government jobs at the beginning of the twentieth century. Whereas, for the Srilankan Tamils who occupied coastal regions and less fertile lands on a comparative scale, the job opportunities were less. Hence for the Srilankan Tamils, the goal was to earn Civil Service jobs and the Professional careers as Doctors and Engineers becoming their primary source of livelihood, that helped their social advancement and their economic prosperity. The tectonic shift of human professions around the world that moved away from Agrarian to Organized Industry with added benefits of Pension and Insurance etc, attracting a large number of youth in the Western Nations was also knocking the doors of Srilanka.

The Sinhalese of post-independence era realized that a different social set-up existed for the people who worked in the Organized Industry and Civil Services, where men had more family time and leisure with a lesser worry on the weather gods; realizing the privileges of modern era, the Sinhalese too decided to move along in those lines than remaining confined to agrarian opportunities. By then the Sinhalese Middle-Class observed that a lot of Srilankan Tamils disproportionately high in number occupying those jobs; also to

Sinhalese, the Srilankan Tamils seemed to have a distinct advantage over themselves and would continue to occupy those jobs in the near future. This realization built huge distrust on Sinhalese towards Tamils of Srilanka aside from their historical baggage of Tamil rulers from India. The bitterness against the Srilankan Tamils by all sections of the Srilanka -religious, political and social- was pervasive.

The demand for devolution of powers to provinces from the Srilankan Tamils were raised frequently. The Politicians were aghast that for a small country like Srilanka whose population with much less than 20 million, and the total Tamil population in Srilanka being at less than 5 million, they had no scope for devolution of power for the Governance. For the religious and ethno-centered Buddhists, the Tamils are invaders and settlers and should be driven out of the Island Nation. This mindset percolated to the common folks among the Sinhalese, because for them, the Srilankan Tamils seemed to be stealing their jobs and so thereby their own economic opportunities and progress towards a good life has been dented. In no other part of the developed world the problem for the Minorities could be as worse as that of the Srilankan Tamils in their homeland.

The only party who could have solved this problem for the Srilankan Tamils was the Srilankan Government and they did it cleverly rather than ingeniously. The Srilankan Government then introduced district-wise proportional quota in the jobs and higher education for the entire Srilanka, in a way to ensure that the Sinhalese would take away a very high share of such opportunities, further depriving the Srilankan Tamil

youth any choice of economic progress. The Srilankan Tamil Youths were completely devastated due to losing out on all ends – Political, Economics, Language and Religious fronts – to the Sinhalese.

8

Economic and Educational Opportunities in India - Post Independence

India had traditionally known as a country of Philosophers and Intellectuals. From the ages of Maurya Dynasty in the North and the Pandias in the South, the country had produced vast number of Poets, Mathematicians, Astronomers, Philosophers and Intellectuals with their contributions stretching vast array of subjects from Literature, Astronomy, Medicine, Mathematics, State-Craft, etc.

Panini and Tholkappiar codified Grammar for Sanskrit and Tamil respectively. Kalidasa, Kautilya, Thiruvalluvar and Kambar, contributed immensely to the Indian Literature. The Nalanda University in the North and the Tamil Sangam in the South were great learning centres that encouraged young Spartan minds to discuss, debate and dissect vast array of branches of knowledge of the Universe.

However, at the dawn of Industrialization, the study of Science and Technology required the study of English as the primary language that had encapsulated multiple streams of thoughts and ideas for debates, discussions and dissemination. India and Indians were no less adept to the challenge. The traits and the language skills those are necessary to conquer the modern knowledge of the world have been imbibed in the

Indian culture that were visible even during the British period.

The Government of India, established a vast number of Universities across all regions of India. To sail in sync with the new World Order that was emerging – Indian Institute of Science, Indian Institute of Technology and Indian Institute of Management were established. These institutions along with many other Central Government funded research institutions, had kept pace with the vast ocean of knowledge that Western world was producing at a brisk pace. However, a general complain had been that these Institutions serve a different class of Indians. Notwithstanding such complains, these Institutions have produced many intellectuals and have encouraged directly and indirectly a scientific temper among the people of India.

The Universities established under the University Grants Commission of India had produced millions of Science and Arts graduates across India who are interested in pursuing higher education. The underprivileged sections of the Society have also been granted access to these Institutions – underprivileged either due to Caste, or due to circumstances like war widows or physically challenged, etc.

Immediately after the Independence, due to Capital Constraints and the Technology bottlenecks, Indian entrepreneurs could not quickly bring in the Capital needed to start large Industries (Of course, there were other reasons, and they are not necessary for the discussion in this book!!). The Government of India, invested hugely in Capital intensive Industries across vast regions of India, through a series of

planned Investments which were then popularly referred to as 5-year plans modelled in the lines of Soviet Union.

In the following years, the respective State Governments were given the task of 100% literacy for children and ensuring access to colleges, universities and research institutions for the vast student community. The State Governments planned to open primary schools in each of the villages, and high schools within 3 kms radius for most of the population. Few states, that had higher density of population, had achieved 100% literacy earlier than others; yet, after nearly seven decades of Independence the country scores low on this front. Low literacy levels has had negative fallout especially with respect to healthcare, sanitation, etc. However, with the growth of communication network across the country these trends are disappearing faster than it did in the last few decades.

Notwithstanding tardy progress in some sectors, the job opportunities and business opportunities opened up to the vast number of Indians were enormous allowing many of them to prosper, still the opportunities were not reaching all the sections of the population. Though the policies and programs of India was successful only in parts, there were not many debates of why some programs are successful at one point of time or in a region but would not be at other point of time or in other region. A stereotype tendency and additionally the leftist influence in the economic policies did leave India much behind the developed world, from the 1960s to very early 1990s.

The discontent in India, inspite of many success stories, that arise

every now and then are enormous; yet India and Indians have addressed or attempted to address those discontents, perhaps one may argue the attempts are not enough to completely quell the discontent. However on a very large scale, the attempt of India as a democracy given the huge diversity and size is very much commendable and make Indians very proud.

In contrast to the Indian experience and experiments, the Srilanka which had a better education and a stable economy did not address the aspiration of their people. Instead, the Srilankan State in multiple ways, starting with disenfranchisement of the Tamils, mishandled the core issues which are simply human in nature and were almost on the route to a failed State.

The Discontent in Srilanka

By 1972, all the Tamil Political parties, the Federal Party, Tamil Congress and the Ceylon Workers Congress (a party promoted to protect the interests of Tamils disenfranchised in 1948) of Thondaman came together to float a new Political Party as their identity – Tamil United Front, the TUF. In 1975 it became the Tamil United Liberation Front the TULF when it got merged with Tamil Youth Congress, a student body promoted with an aim of pursuing armed struggle.

In 1969 the two young SL Tamils youths Thangathurai-Kuttimani among the pioneers of the armed movement in Srilanka, began attracting the young SL Tamils who were ready to take up arms against the State. The delayed origination of the Militancy was peculiar to the Srilankan Tamil society because, though the Srilankan Tamils suffered discriminatory attitude of the Srilankan Government beginning from 1948 - the day Srilanka attained Independence from the British - Srilankan Tamil Leaders believed that situation could be solved by dialogue and passage of time, and so it prevented the formation of armed Militancy. The situation by 1970 has changed, as the ageing Political Leadership of Srilankan Tamils, ever increasing atrocities of the Sinhalese Police against Srilankan Tamils for petty robberies and crimes, State sponsored attacks against the Srilankan Tamils in their

home land, all resulted in melting point for the origination of the armed movement. However, all these could not throw up a critical mass for the institutionalized growth of the armed movement, as the Srilankan Tamil middle-class were conservative in their outlook, and their population of around 4 million plus were scattered across more than 1000 kms of Srilankan Coastline. This situation resulted in multiple armed groups emerging from the different regions with lesser co-ordination and little ammunition for targeted attacks against the State. However, among these groups, one man stood out from the rest in Organizational abilities, awareness of the intraregional strengths and weaknesses among the Srilankan Tamil population living in Northern and Eastern districts, hunger for training in weapon, eye for identifying the traitors, sensing the opportunities for ramping up the Organization, and the need for building a distinct culture for the Organization, and finally unshakeable commitment to the formation of an independent Tamil Eelam.

10

National Emergency in India

One of the greatest Assets of a democracy is the strength of its Institutions beyond the Aura of Individual rulers. India, post-Independence never had a Leadership that allowed Institutions to flourish beyond their Charisma till 1990. Jawaharlal Nehru remained as our Prime Minister till 1964 held sway over the Nation though war with China in 1962 impacted his image. The next Prime Minister Lal Bahadur Shastri did not last for one full term and also never gave an impression to the common man of this country, that he would lead us away from Poverty, Illiteracy and the age old serfdom. The demise of Shastri brought a mercurial Iron Lady, Indira Gandhi, daughter of former Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru in the frontline of the Power structure to the surviving democracy of the Asian region in 1967. The choice of Indira Gandhi as Prime Minister of India whose ascendancy primarily because of her lineage on those years, yielded to a growth of a new Political culture hitherto unknown to India, namely servile followers within the ruling Party.

During the most periods of second half of twentieth century, across the Asian and African regions whose nations suffered from poverty and illiteracy also had to bear the tyranny of the Military rule. Very few nations of these regions escaped the wrath of Dictatorship and

India was one among them. At the point of India attaining Independence, some of the Congressmen in the US advised that India should not adopt Democracy as the governance structure, but should follow other models as in the Asian region to escape from the ills of the colonial rule. India's intellects never digested such an advice from the US and waited for more than forty years to give it back to US's wise counsel. In 1994, India's then Prime Minister P.V. Narasimha Rao, took a mild jibe at the wisdom of the Congressmen at the US Congress in Washington, for such an advice, citing the phenomenal achievements of the India on Scientific and Technological advancements, and relatively a better human development of the country as a result of Democracy. During this speech, he explicitly argued that on the basis of a Notion called Development, economic or otherwise, if the rulers tried quick fixes or attempted to cut corners of a normal course as appropriate for the society, such pulls would always and inevitably lead the country plunging into chaos, which otherwise would have yielded better results as evident from across the world, where Dictators reined in the Nation-States including India's neighbours – Pakistan and Bangladesh.

During the early 1970s, the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi patronized a servile political course for her followers in the ruling party; though in the initial years the same did not rattle the Indian Public, over a period of time it did. In this period, the country had witnessed massive corruption in high offices, red-tape in the Government that strangulated the Economy and the Administration as well, fall in moral

values in the Public Offices, consolidation of power by Upper Caste groups across India. It was reported that Indira Gandhi began this by building a coterie of Government Officials and then extended the group by including Politicians. In public, her policies which comprised primarily Nationalization of Banks and Land reforms, were identified with the leftist ideals were hailed across the disadvantaged sections of the society. However, when she attempted to control the bureaucracy completely, it did not yield the desired results and in many cases it backfired much to her agony.

These Institutions built by the British Raj over the decades inherited Pride of Independence and the loyalty unto to Constitution of India than their Political Masters, at differing intensity. These institutions – Judiciary, Central Bank, Defense and Law Enforcing agencies of Civil, Criminal and Economic divisions of the country – absorbed young Indians with a unique professional character and were willing to argue and assume contradicting positions with their Political masters.

In 1974, the Allahabad High court passed a sentence that disqualified the election of the Prime Minister which immediately set off an alarming series of events. Firstly, the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi, instead of resigning and vacating the Office, declared Internal National Emergency without consulting her Cabinet colleagues, just to hold on to power. During the Emergency period, the Nation went into chaos as individual can be taken into Custody by the Police without any questions and without the intervention of the court. The legal provision was simply used to silence anyone who were opposed to the

highest Executive Office of the country. The police had all the power to detain anyone without a trial. The period saw atrocities unleashed against the minorities, poor, Leftists, opposing Political Parties and the Rashtriya Swayamsevak Sangh whose political Offshoots include BJP, the present ruling party.

In this period, Bihar, one of the poorest states of India but rich in resources and Leadership gave rise to a monumental Leader, Jayaprakash Narayan, under whom the Country united as a single unit to overthrow the Government Led by Indira Gandhi. The period taught the countrymen the value of democracy, the tyrannical aspects of a Dictatorship that impacted many nations across Asia and Africa.

National Emergency had its immediate impact across India: Elections to Parliament and the States were suspended; Government extended sweeping powers to police, that is to detain anyone in the country without having to produce them in Court. Press was censored, civil liberties were curbed Senior national Leaders like Jayaprakash Narayan, Vajpayee, Morarjee Desai, Aacharya Kripalani, L.K.Advani were arrested and kept under preventive custody. In Tamilnadu, the DMK Government headed by M.Karunanidhi was dismissed and M.Karunanidhi was taken into Custody, as the DMK was part of all India movement in opposing the Emergency.

As India was politically into deeper chaos from the late 1960s to mid-1970s, the neighbor Srilanka treaded a similar path, wherein the Government by way of constitutional amendments to Land-holdings and the district wise quota system in Educational opportunities, took

away the jobs and higher education opportunities of the Srilankan Tamils. Since India was caught in the web of a Transition to a Nation-State, the experiments of the nation kept the conscious energy of the people including the Indian Tamils, partly limited to themselves, than listening and correcting the chaos of the Srilankan Tamils. In addition to the above, Tamilnadu then seemingly moved into an aggressive Federal Polity with the ascendance of the DMK into power, aided by anti-Hindi agitation of the student's movement of 1965 that opposed compulsory learning of Hindi as the third language in the Schools of Tamilnadu; the energies spent towards achieving a Federal course of Polity, kept the thoughts of the people of Tamilnadu restricted within India. The Indian Tamils knew that the Srilankan Tamils were at a disadvantage in the Island due to their Constitution, but they also knew that SL Tamils were a progressive society with a number of them earning higher education and moving up in the social ladder. Hence, perhaps the energy to take a serious look at the events in Srilanka were found to be wanting from the late 1960s till late 1970s.

So when India was at the cross-roads of a fledgling Democracy, the Srilankan situation which was equally fluid but escaped the conscious debate of the general public of Tamilnadu, though the subject was very much in the realm of the Tamil radicals of the Dravidian Movement.

Declaration of Independent Tamil Eelam

At the time of Srilanka attaining Independence though fissures existed between the Srilankan Tamils and the Sinhalese there was never a demand for an Independent Tamil Eelam, because both the Communities never felt as aliens within the Island Nation. The Sinhalese never thought the Srilankan Tamils were invaders or aliens. But among the Sinhalese, **the Buddhist hardliners were not willing to give space to the Srilankan Tamils and defined them as invaders or aliens** as Srilankan Tamils are either Hindus, Christians or Muslims but there were not many Buddhists among the Tamils. However, for the ancient Tamils their religious identity and their ethnic identity are one and the same. It is not clear whether it was because of such a reasoning the Buddhist hardliners hated the Tamils in general and Srilankan Tamils in particular.

The Sinhala Buddhist hardliners think that they are the Custodians of the traditions of Theravada Buddhism. They think that the Tamils were invaders of the Srilanka who repeatedly attacked Buddhists and their land. So, for the Srilankan Tamils who were demanding the power sharing in Srilanka based on the ethnicity whereas for the Sinhalese their opposition is basically from the religious perspective.

S.J.V. Chelvanayakam, Father of the Tamils of Srilanka, towards the end of his life time realized that his dream of making Srilanka a Federal State had collapsed after a long and protracted political struggle with Colombo. His attempts of negotiations for limited regional powers with Srilankan State had repeatedly resulted in failures, with the majoritarian community always going back against the promise of devolution of powers.

The repeated neglect of the Srilankan Political Leaders to control their religious lobbyists resulted in distrust, hatred and denying an equal opportunity for the Tamils of Srilanka.

On 14th May, 1976, a huge gathering of Tamil Political leaders took place in Panakkam or Vattukottai or sometimes spelt as Vaddukottai, S.J.V.Chelvanayakam said the following:

The demand for an independent nation from minority Tamils is a natural response to unbearable oppression by majority Sinhalese. Eelam Tamils at an historic juncture had been left with only course correction to the injustice on the Eelam Tamils

Failure of the Srilankan State to redress the grievances of the people pushed the ethnic minority of the nation into a shell. One language formulae, denial of educational opportunities and government jobs resulted in distrust

“Throughout the ages the Sinhalese and Tamils in the country lived as distinct sovereign people till they were brought under foreign domination. It should be remembered that the Tamils were part of the struggle for

Srilankan Independence in the full confidence that they also would regain their freedom. We have for the last 25 years made every effort to secure our political rights on the basis of equality with the Sinhalese in a united Ceylon.

*It is regrettable fact the successive Sinhalese governments have used the power that flows from independence (from European Rule) to deny us our fundamental rights and reduce us to the position of a subject people. These governments have been able to do so only by using against the Tamils the **sovereignty common** to the Sinhalese and the Tamils.*

I wish to announce to my people and to the country that I consider the verdict at this election as a mandate that the Tamil Eelam nation should exercise the sovereignty already vested in the Tamil people and become free.”

12

EROS, the First Tamil Militants of Srilanka

The Beauty or Ugliness of a Character lies not in its achievements; but it lies in its aims and impulses. The true history of a Character is found not among the things done but among the things willed

- Thomas Hardy

Interestingly the origins of the Tamil Militancy had a Twin Face – group of educated elite youth and a Warlord, V.Prabhakaran. Curiously both of them came face to face and started reaching out to other to achieve their ambition.

A young boy of sixteen years old in Velvettithurai, the coastal town of Northern Srilanka, born as a son of Velupillai, a Government employee, Prabhakaran was growing as a marauding force. In his young days the boy heard a number of stories where the Sinhalese policemen tortured the Tamil prisoners without a fair reason. Listening to those stories, the boy's young mind turned volatile and nurtured irreconcilable hatred towards to the Sinhalese. He also noticed that some of the Tamils, for pecuniary benefits or otherwise, were tacitly supporting the actions of the Sinhalese government. This made him extremely violent – he despised every Tamil who did not share his degree of hatred.

Far away in Europe, E. Rathnasabathy, V.Balakumaran, and Shankar Raji, the young Tamils of Srilanka who espoused Marxist thoughts

were living in London, realized the plight of the Srilankan Tamils back home in their country Srilanka. They looked around their environment and understood what a modern civilized nation like Britain has to offer to their citizens which is, unlike the inhibiting social and political environment in their island nation based on the linguistic and cultural identity. The three came together and opened a new chapter in the history of Srilankan Tamils by forming an Organization called Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students (EROS) in 1975. **In order to demonstrate to the world about their conditions back home then in Srilanka, the trio organized protests during the Cricket World Cup held in 1975.** This immediately caught the attention of the students from middle-east studying in London; with their help, members of EROS got trained in arms by Palestine based Liberation groups. EROS was the first Organization to receive training in arms and warfare formally; however, it was not the first one to imbibe the war-culture in the Srilankan Tamil youth.

It was Prabhakaran who stole the thunder from EROS by forming a small armed unit called Tamil New Tigers, TNT, in 1976. Prabhakaran, who later became the Supreme Commander of the Tigers, was then a name unheard of in the Srilankan Tamil circles; with the help of Kuttimani and EROS, he went through the training in arms and warfare and bequeathed his life and soul to battlefield forever believing that it was the one and only way to restore the genuine demands of the Tamils in the Srilankan Tamil region. The Mentors, EROS, and the Supreme Commander of the Tamil Freedom struggle in Srilanka,

Prabhakaran, generally had regards for each other though they had different mindsets because of their background. The leadership of EROS had their ears to the Western world and across the other regions of the world watching their economic expansion, political thoughts, scientific advancements etc, whereas Prabhakaran who grew in the hate environment in Srilanka heard only the stories of what the Srilanka Government did to his folks in the island nation; this unilateral thinking gave him the edge, the clairvoyance of what the Srilankan Government could do to his people which formed the basis of his later successes in battles against the Srilankan Government.

The Sovereign powers vested on a State in the modern era is unquestionable and remains Supreme. Nations across the world, build diplomatic and cultural relations based on this unquestionable legitimacy of the Constitution in every State. Unfortunately if a Nation's Constitution is divisive on the treatment to be meted out to its Citizens based on color, language, or one's Grandfather's Grandmother was from a different lineage than the majority of the population, none are willing to question the Sovereign rights extended to these ill-designed nations.

The Supreme Commander did not care to understand the belief-system of how the diplomatic relations are built by the Nation-States. Neither he was willing to listen to anyone who understood such subtleties; **the only belief he had that would work against Srilankan Government's totalitarianism was guns.** The problem of this closed mindset was it did not allow him to think clearly post 2001, as the 09/11

forever altered the Western view of Militancy.

The founding members of EROS and their supporters studied in the Universities in London and later worked as Bankers or MNC employees; driven by genuine interest in people, they saw that grievances of their folks can be addressed by means of armed struggle, though S.J.V.Chelvanayakam, who till then been the tallest leader of the Srilankan Tamil community believed otherwise. They realized that if the Srilankan Government cannot amend itself through the peaceful means, additional levers would be needed and in case if it leads to armed struggle to form an Independent Sovereign Nation that should be worthwhile.

They realized that in order to meet that goal they had to identify youth who would behave like an unstoppable force and train them for armed struggle, source Weapons for their battles against the Srilankan Government, to get ready with plans and strategy for their future, and finally ensure execution of their plans with zeal and commitment. Additionally, they were aware that the same cannot be done in London. So they went to Srilanka to plan and to recruit young forces, and found among them one more addition to their command structure, Balanadaraj Iyer, in Jaffna.

The impact of the demonstrations by Students during the World Cricket Cup in London was very vivid; one, that it was noticed immediately and had won the admiration of Palestine armed groups with immediate access to their training facility in arms & warfare, and two that the move was hailed in Jaffna as a stepping stone for bright

future of the Srilankan Tamils.

Velvettithurai of Northern province of Srilanka in the late 1960s and 70s, was considered to be one of the hubs of smuggling activities and illegal movements in the coast. The Srilankan government seriously monitored this coastal town to counter any illegal activity. The Supreme Commander who grew up in this Northern Srilanka, was witnessing number of incidents where the Tamil youths being detained by the Government many a time for petty reasons, leading to unrest between the locals and the authorities in many towns and villages. The police action on the culprits went beyond the legal course, and included torture and killing of the family members of the culprits, including elderly folks and young children of 4 years old. The rage and outburst on hearing these stories provoked many Tamil youths but of no avail. There were organized agitations across many towns in northern Srilanka including Jaffna to protest against bias, torture, illegal detention and many such atrocities by the police and other Government authorities; the Warlord took part in some of those agitations and also witnessed a few, however, was not convinced that these would be the means to achieve the justice for his people. He decided that only the firepower of the gun can silence the atrocities of Srilankan Government and bring justice to his people. On that score, in 1970s many Srilankan Tamils thought he was right about silencing the atrocities of Srilankan Government with his introduction of cyanide & gun-culture till late 1990s.

However, in the new millieum, with life getting better for common

folks across the world through revolutions in Telecom & Computing powers, his reference of the Srilankan State and its acts of Commissions & Omissions, could not be impressed upon to the individuals and as well as to the Nation-States, from the years following 9/11, leading up to his Military defeat after waging war for 30plus years. He then silenced his guns in 2009 having failed to bring the elusive justice to the Tamils of Srilanka.

The Battles



13

Birth of Armed Struggle and Formation of LTTE

Similar to the lines of Jallian Wallabagh Massacre in Punjab India, the Srilankan police entered a public meeting in Jaffna on 10th Jan, 1974 and started shooting indiscriminately and killing instantly eleven people and wounding more than fifty people. Many young children who ran helter-skelter away from their parents during the shooting are missing till this day. The major difference was, then India was ruled by a foreign power and so a foreigner went on a killing spree in a colonized country; whereas, in Srilanka, it was their own Government that chose to kill its own people who were there only to discuss their own Tamil Literature. It was the last day of the ten day affair - the World Tamil Conference; the Tamil Scholars from across the world were attending, sharing progress of their language from their respective countries of the World, namely, India, Singapore and Malaysia. The function was held in Veerasingham Hall, a public hall, to give the local people a glimpse of the progress of their language and to listen to the lectures from the Scholars. The Srilankan police came in truck load and opened fire at the scholars and the people at the open hall who had come to hear the lectures.

A scholar from India, Nainar Mohammad was delivering a speech

when police opened fire and tear gas at the crowd with the sole view of disrupting the Tamil conference and killing Tamils. The Srilankan Government's dastardly attack on a cultural event particularly during the celebrations on the richness of the language and literature of their community, talks of nothing but the Genocidal tendencies of the Srilankan Government that resulted in death and devastation of the Tamil community. It was reported that the President of Srilanka had asked the Organizers to hold the Tamil conference in Colombo whereas the Organizers chose to conduct it in Jaffna as it would give easy access to the Tamil people in the cities and villages nearby. The Government refused to conduct a Presidential Commission of inquiry and the Officers who were involved in the attack on Tamils were promoted. The people of Jaffna came to understand that the Mayor of the Town, Alfred Duriappa, a Tamil by birth, was in some ways collaborated with the Srilankan Government for the attack carried out by the police. The Tamil youths of Srilanka were never willing to forgive him, and it took a single shot from an unknown young boy to leave the Mayor dead. His gory death rang bells across the island nation as what could happen to a traitor among the Srilankan Tamils.

Though the military training and formation of the armed struggle was definitely etched in the young Tamil minds of Srilanka, the killing of Alfred Duraiappa, a highprofile Mayor of Jaffna in the broad daylight foretold a bloody future that would engulf Jaffna into chaos for the decades to come. The killer was not known to public, but the character of the killer ran across the minds of the Jaffnaites that they were

witnessing a most ruthless persecutor who may ironically become either their savior or their un-intending vanquisher, as the identity was yet to be established. It takes multiple generations to change a belief system in a world that was never disrupted by any technological weapon. The bullet from the gun of Prabhakaran had the power to change that belief system of the Jaffnaites, young and old, elite and the commoner. The struggle of a young boy with very little formal education, with no knowledge of the additional language than Tamil, without any exposure to the Western World is quite bewildering as he brought about a ruthless character of young Srilankan Tamil Militants within an Institutional Framework.

The identity of Militancy and Militant groups gives a distinct appearance to the world: a bunch of radicalized youths from a much oppressed community fighting from the jungles or hideouts against the State or State actors. The embryonic state of any militant group is the same; however, the growth of such groups takes a different form depending upon response from the State or State actors. In many cases there is a nexus with a criminal world, drug trafficking, human trafficking, illegal weapon marketing, looting, arson all become part of the activities of the group. Within such militant groups, many disoriented youths may pick up and at times get addicted to smoking, alcohol, drugs, etc. There were however, instances in armed revolutions that these traits did not stop the militant groups in capturing power and ruling the State. For the Warlord, he was building a National Army (and not a Militant Group) to win homeland for his people and drive

away the aliens from ruling their land; the Army has its code and it is not negotiable at any circumstances. **He wanted his soldiers to be Teetotalers and should respect family values and under no circumstances can offend women.** It must be noted that the Srilankan Government had never quoted an instance where the LTTE men had sexually offended women, whereas, its Army had been repeatedly accused of this crime. In some instances Srilankan spokespersons have argued that LTTE fighters have tortured and killed women brutally in unspeakable words. However, killing, ruthlessness were integral part of violent militant groups and LTTE were no exception to such traits. Surprisingly some of the negative traits that one would associate with armed militant groups were completely absent in the LTTE Top leadership and the same traits were largely percolated down to the last fighting man of the hierarchy.

The initial defining moment came when V.Prabhakaran and few handpicked men formed a new Unit called Tamil New Tigers, TNT, which was the first avatar of LTTE. Until then, group did not have any structure and all it had was few members with some hit and run cases, most of whom were trained by pioneers of the Tamils Armed Rebellion, Kuttimani (alias Selvarajah Yogachandran) and Nadarajah Thangadurai. This group worked along with another young group who were predominantly students that had both political and armed wing. In 1975 the Student's group had split and joined a new political formation 'Tamil United Liberation Front (TULF)' along with other political parties notably Federal Party Led by S.J.V.Chelvanayakam,

Ceylon Congress and other smaller parties. This Political Formation later fought the General Election of Srilanka in 1977 with a mandate to fight and win an Independent Tamil Eelam politically. But the most important event being post the formation of TULF, it passed Vattukottai Resolution in 1976, a resolution that demanded carving out an Independent Sovereign State 'Tamil Eelam' from Srilanka.

By 1976, TNT or the Tamil New Tigers began attracting few more youths who had capability for armed struggle with the Srilankan State; as the numbers started swelling to more than dozen men it prompted V.Prabhakaran to create a new structure and he named it as *Tamileela Viduthalai Puligal* and in English, "Liberation Tigers of Tamil Eelam," the LTTE. The new unit had a five member Governing Body with Uma Maheswaran as its Chairman and V.Prabhakaran as its Military Commander and its immediate goals were to hand-pick the committed Youth and train them in arms. Uma Maheswaran perhaps was then considered one of the tallest leaders of the armed struggle movements and was later trained in Lebanon and Syria sometime during 1979–80. He was more popular than V.Prabhakaran because of his better communication skills and was also perhaps charismatic among the general public.

However, the existence of multiple groups prompted attendant problems of the militancy - funding - that builds nexus to the underworld.

In general, Srilankan Tamil people were extremely glad to see the boys to the fore who would build a bright future for their next

generations. The rich people started funding the groups for their armed activities but donations were miniscule compared to the hunger that was required to build a Nation-State. In the initial period that is from 1975 to 1982, bank robberies, donations, extortions from business people who frequent between Jaffna and Colombo were the major sources of funding for the armed militant groups. Since these were not enough for build-up of Army and the necessary resources to fight, the major groups looked for funding from overseas Srilankan Tamils. Canada, US, France, UK were the initial sources for the militants but surprisingly the funding was never at significant levels from neighboring Tamilnadu at all points of time from 1970s–2009 and significantly post war with the IPKF from 1989; in some instances, LTTE had to bribe the Tamilnadu people for logistics, supplies like petrol and medical essentials procurements from Tamilnadu which were always in short supply as the supplies from Colombo and other parts of the Srilanka had almost dried up since the beginning of the militancy.

But one should realize that in 1970s India (and so Tamilnadu) was a poor country as it had just fought major war with Pakistan, and had to spend a lot for feeding of a large influx of people from East Pakistan (now Bangladesh), and funding from people of Tamilnadu was extremely limited and from the State Government of Tamilnadu was Nil save one instance that happened several years later; it was in 1985, when the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu M.G.Ramachandran called upon many militant groups and gave them Rs. 50 million then, out of which

Rs. 40 million was given to LTTE and the remaining was given to other militant groups. The purpose of funding as declared by the State Government of Tamilnadu was to buy medicines and other essentials for the people of Northern and Eastern regions of Srilanka!!

Some of the readers may be aware that this funding from the Government of Tamilnadu, was much after the 1983 pogrom where thousands of Srilankan Tamils were tortured and killed and millions worth of property were destroyed; and all the data indicates that people from Tamilnadu were not involved in funding of the Srilankan Tamil Militancy. Still, there were a few supportive souls in Tamilnadu who were willing to part with their money to Srilankan Tamil Militants for basics like food, accommodation, local conveyance and some logistics. The reality was, till 1980 militancy did not have a critical mass necessary for the mission that would take on the Srilankan Army in battles; there were a few militants numbering few hundreds and many of them remained scattered without any institutional structure for survival and to wage battles. Post 1978, the situation changed a lot for the militant movements due to constant door-to-door campaign and due to constitutional changes. Until 1983, except for some political demonstrations and show of solidarity from Tamilnadu, there were not many but only isolated instances of funding or people joining the Militant groups or providing sanctuary reported for the Srilankan Militant movements. However, due to the absence of any such data, the author of this book does not rule out such instances of funding or harboring of Srilanka Tamil Militants in Tamilnadu completely; the

author however empathetically concludes that the seeds of the militancy and the necessary resources were supplied by the Srilankan Tamils themselves to the point of upwards 98% if not 100%. Some self-appointed Independent observers and the Srilankan Military and Political Analysts who have pulled wool over their eyes sorely miss these points and accuse that the Government of India and Tamilnadu extended large scale support for the Srilankan Tamil Militancy without any serious pointers or substance. The support for the Srilankan Tamil Militancy in large-scale was available from Tamilnadu after the Srilanka's State sponsored Pogrom.

Thus, the Origins of the Armed struggle had multiple streams with all limited to the Natives of the Srilankan Tamils without any participation from the Indian side.

In 1977, when the National General elections were held in India, the incumbent Prime Minister Indira Gandhi was defeated and new Government was formed by Janata Party with Morarjee Desai becoming India's new Prime Minister a first non-Congress Prime Minister. In the same year Srilanka elected United National Party as the ruling party headed by a wily, clever politician Junious Richard Jayawardane. The new chief came with a clear mandate; to dismantle the remaining powers at the Provincial and district levels and move to Presidential form of the Government which until then had Prime Minister as its Chief Executive of the Administration of the Government.

A crushing victory ensured the UNP got more than 80% of seats in

the General Elections enabling the JR Jayawardane to become the Prime Minister. He held the same position for a year and later became the President by a Constitutional Amendment as promised in the polls. The new Constitution gave the President sweeping powers leading to more serious trouble for the Srilankan Tamils. A story goes that Dictator of the Pakistan, General Zia-hul-haq once commented to JR Jayawardane that, "I am being portrayed as the Dictator whereas you have so much powers enshrined in the Constitution to yourself, so what are you?"

With more powers for the President and TULF becoming the main opposition party being targeted by the ruling Government the SL Tamils had more miseries in their day-to-day lives. More problem for the Srilankan Tamils meant more youths available for militant movements that was gathering pace. The anti-Tamil riots in 1977 had more horror stories for the Srilankan Tamils and finally peaked when the Srilankan President announced a State of National Emergency and ordered the Army to occupy Jaffna peninsula with Administration under its control in 1979. V.Prabhakaran thought it was not a good period to remain in Srilanka and left its shores to come and hide in Tamilnadu. The Tamilnadu watchers and politicians did not perhaps fully comprehended the gravity of the situation until then. In Tamilnadu, the LTTE commander V.Prabhakaran met Anton Balasingham who left his job in the British embassy to work for the betterment of the lives of his folks, Srilankan Tamils. From that point, Balasingham became the eyes, ears and voice of V.Prabhakaran who

learnt from him the politics of the world, its emerging order and its decay.

As the chosen path was Armed Struggle against the Srilankan Government, Prabhakaran decided the struggle should not be carried out by ragtag muscle men carrying guns. It should be under a Code - Military Uniform for the boys & girls, strict character to be a teetotaler, no playing of cards, no indulgence in gambling, and practice of celibacy in the initial period and a host of prescription all ruthlessly followed by the Commander himself!! For other Militant groups including Uma Maheswaran, these qualities were not important and just the use of guns were enough to attain Tamil Eelam. For the Commander Prabhakaran who at various times called himself as Karikalan the Great Chola King of the Tamils who lived 2000 years ago, the idea of Tamil Eelam is not the Goal in itself but the character of the Tamils who would live in that country under his dictatorship mattered most; he wanted to raise the SL Tamils as ideal citizens of a country, an essential condition under which he believed that country can flourish. Perhaps the reason why he wore the name Karikalan is to ensure his deeds to bring prosperity to Tamils for thousands of years just as Karikalan's deeds turned out to be. He admonished Uma Maheswaran who was caught red-handed when having an affair with the widow of another militant during late 70s and parted ways from him. Additionally the habits of the western educated English Speaking militants like Uma Maheswaran, who without doubt a brilliant leader, in the eyes of Prabhakaran cannot inspire young boys and girls in the

rolls of Militant group. It is true and certain that especially parents of young girls would never send their wards to a militant group to fight for their people's cause if the militants are said have all kinds of habits – drinks, smoking, gambling, etc. It is for these reasons he remained wedded to those principles, and felt that any militant or militant leader not following his idealism were mean and in the long run set to destroy the fabric of the Tamil Militancy and eventually surrendering to the Sinhala Rulers. The vehemence of Prabhakaran over other militant groups except for EROS, grew over the time and forced to think that he should set his house in order in the first place before any valid attempts to overthrow Sinhalese to be achieved. The idealism of some of these traits won more admonishment and enemies within Tamils and other militant groups; many felt this idealism perhaps designed his negative personality leading to his failure of his campaign of independent Tamil Eelam. What a sad end to an idea of puritan Character building! In one of the articles, DBS Jeyaraj had mentioned that though Pottu Amman, Chief of Intel Wing LTTE, and his men used to play card games where the skills of a poker are tested, it used to happen beyond the eyes of Prabhakaran who would reprimand them immediately for such actions of his men as the game meant, according to Prabhakaran imbibing a character of gambling, totally anathema to his military code.

Militants Gaining a Foothold in Tamilnadu

For the last one hundred years, the Dravidian Movement and the political parties born from that movement at different periods are chief contenders to Power in Tamilnadu. Each of those political parties earned a distinct identity though the people do not go by such identities while voting for one of these Dravidian parties to power. DK or Dravidar Kazhagam is known as party of atheists who just ridicule Hindu Gods; DMK is known as party that once demanded a separate country Dravidanadu from India and the party chief M.Karunandhi has never been shy of flaunting discordant notes on some of the Hindu religious beliefs. AIADMK, is the Offshoot from the DMK created by M.G.Ramachandran is always noted as a party whose men irrespective of their stature in the society (and within their party) religiously follow the dictates of their party chief, earlier M.G.Ramachandran and now Ms. Jayalalitha. Party founder MGR as affectionately called by people, was born in Kandy, Srilanka, and grew up in Tamilnadu, to Malayalam speaking parents had a highly successful film career for more than thirty years in Tamil film industry.

Elections in the year 1977 was held simultaneously for Indian Parliament and as well as for the Tamilnadu State Assembly, saw

change of guard in both Parliament and Assembly. The Parliament of India saw for the first time a non-Congress party, the Janata Party led by Morarjee Desai forming a Government. In Tamilnadu, AIADMK led by M.G.Ramachandran formed the Government in Tamilnadu defeating the DMK led by M.Karunanidhi. The change of guard in Tamilnadu however was seen as better alternative of the professed politics of the DMK or MK during late 1970s by many, though preachers of the Dravidian era viewed it as an alternative Dravidian party to DMK, rather than the dismissal of the Dravidian politics by the people.

The charismatic Leader M.G.Ramachandran, though was not new to politics but lacked the fiery Oratorical skills and political acumen on a comparative scale with M.Karunanidhi. However, he made good of his own deficiency through his charisma which he had nurtured throughout his thirty years of career in films, where he would always Don the role of a Messiah, and always identified himself as a teetotaler nurturing caste free democratic society, unsurprisingly the very ideals which the Dravidian movement cared for in its early years. In order to balance M.Karunanidhi's political craft, the Tamilnadu Chief Minister MGR followed very friendly course with the National Government in New Delhi. He sided with Morarjee Desai and then Charan Singh when they became the Prime Ministers of India, and also took sides with Indira Gandhi when she returned as the Prime Minister in 1980.

Apart from such practices, MGR was seen as a very genuine man who cared for the poor and downtrodden; he expanded schools, hospitals and educational institutions in remote areas of Tamilnadu

which had little access to their urban counterparts. To effectively root out child labour prevalent till 1980s he introduced noon meal scheme all through the year for the school children along with free school uniforms, books and note books. The result was very encouraging and impressive, as the literacy levels rose up in Tamilnadu faster than in most other parts of India.

Critics of M.Karunanidhi expected MGR to behave differently in certain areas which was not the case with MGR as both of them rose from the same background. However, when the signs of militancy appeared in the streets of Tamilnadu due to presence of Srilankan Tamil Militants, MGR proved several notches better than M.Karunanidhi in serving the interests of Tamils of Srilanka, which cheered the admirers of Dravidian movement. It was during 1982 when the Srilankan Tamil Militancy was in very initial stages wherein scores of youths were being trained in middle-eastern countries with the small supplies of arms being sourced from the black markets of India and Afghanistan. As discussed in the earlier chapters, among the militant groups it was the LTTE which stole the march over many other groups because of the presence of Prabhakaran and Uma Maheshwaran. But the tiff between two men had reached a flashpoint and the use of LTTE name and symbol were initially hijacked by the Uma Maheshwaran. In the tussle, Prabhakaran went in exile; however, because of his good offices with the many Srilankan Tamils in Jaffna and Western Countries he won back the use of the name and the symbol but was not satisfied with it. In 1982, when both met each other

in Chennai, T.Nagar, both militants saw red in each other and drew the pistols and fired at each other. Though both escaped without serious injuries, the Tamilnadu police arrested both the men and remanded them in custody.

The media in Chennai carried the news of the young militants trying to harm each other in the crowded area called T.Nagar, Chennai, with the Photographs of both of them. Since the coverage of the magazines and newspapers of Chennai also reaches Srilanka, the news item was cheered by the Srilankan police and intelligence wing as they for the first time, got the photograph of elusive leader called Prabhakaran of the armed Srilankan Tamil group LTTE. Immediately, the Srilankan President jumped the gun and announced Rs. One million for the Tamilnadu Police if they handed over both the militants to the Government of Srilanka. On hearing this announcement of the Srilankan President, the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, MGR understood the importance of the two persons under the custody and decided to act firmly. He called up Mohandas then Inspector General of Police, Intelligence Wing, Tamilnadu and ensured the safety of both the Militant leaders; he also ensured the charges of the shootout on both to be dropped, permanently. He then learnt about the current state of Srilankan Tamil Militancy as in 1982, though the causes of it was already known to him and decided to quietly support them in whatever means possible from Tamilnadu. MGR also used his good offices with the Prime Minister Indira Gandhi and ensured that she is on his side for all the help the Srilankan Tamil Militants would be getting from

then. An year later in 1983, when the Srilankan Government sponsored pogrom killed thousands of the innocent Srilankan Tamils (aided and supported by the Srilankan Government including the head of the State, JR Jayawardane) and burnt millions worth of their properties to avenge the death of thirteen SL Army men, that would be discussed in later chapters, the support from Tamilnadu folks went by a million-fold.

Politics can't be queer; because the Chief Minister M.G.Ramachandran (State Government of Tamilnadu) started supporting the LTTE chief V.Prabhakaran, the opposition party DMK headed by MGR's political rival M.Karunanidhi started supporting another Srilankan Tamil group, TELO (Tamil Eelam Liberation Organization), led by Sri Sabaratnam until the latter was slaughtered by the LTTE militants in the internecine war between the SL Tamil groups in 1986. At this point, LTTE and especially its Supremo V.Prabhakaran alienated themselves from a section of the Tamils because of this barbaric act of killing. Some sections of the unverifiable media reported that the dead body of the Sri Sabaratnam was pulled in the streets of Jaffna, and was beaten with chappels, sending a shiver in the spines of the Srilankan Tamils whoever did not listen to LTTE and its leader V.Prabhakaran. Still some of these acts did not stop many Tamils (both Srilankan and Indian) from believing, admiring and following him for the cause of Tamil Eelam.

Burning of Jaffna Library in 1981

Genocide is a systematic destruction of people, their nation, their heritage and cultural wealth available in the form of poems, stories, Literature and Creative writings including history stored in the form of printed volumes of books shelved in libraries. Prior to the advent of Electronic artefacts, books and the ancient palm-leaves were the only medium of storage, which were hard to create in the first place.

Jaffna, the cultural capital of the Srilankan Tamils had the largest library in South Asian region and a great collection of rare Tamil literary works and manuscripts of more than 95000 books, which are irreplaceable. Sinhalese genocide has a particular plan to annihilate the Tamils in an orderly manner across the Srilankan State. Multiple waves of persecution was attempted, first by reduced job opportunities in the Government Sectors, then by reduced higher educational opportunities and finally attacks on the Tamil Cultural symbols including Hindu Temples, Tamil schools and Libraries.

Of the large spread of Tamil population across the Northern and the Eastern provinces of Srilanka, the Target of attacks on Tamils were not chosen randomly. From the late 1950s the repeated attacks on the Tamil population by Sinhalese goons were around the Eastern districts and the borders of the Northern districts of the Lanka. In the Northern

districts including Jaffna where the Tamil population were higher, the attacks were directly carried out by Police on frivolous reasons. Even a small theft by a Tamil would become a huge crime and the offender would be as drug or gold smuggler. In a few cases, the guys caught by the police would disappear forever or would lose limbs or eyes. The brutality of the police force did not let children and womenfolk of the casual offender's family often ending with the whole village or street demanding fair trial of the accused. All these resulted in an increasingly insecure atmosphere for the Tamils living in the regions where their life and property were targeted by either the Sinhala Goons or the Srilankan Government forces.

The Srilankan State which was a silent spectator in the crimes against the Tamils crafted a policy wherein the demographic changes in the region are encouraged by Sinhala settlements and enforced evictions of the Tamil population. Initially it was easily carried out in Negombo and Puttalam areas; Amparai district, which had a Tamil speaking Muslim majority population in 1970s was targeted for enforced settlement of Sinhala farmers in that district. Similarly, such settlements were initiated by Government to subdue the demographic patterns in the border regions of Northern districts including Mannar and Vavuniya and the Eastern district of Batticola. Among the northern districts the worst affected was Vavuniya, wherein the Sinhala settlers assisted by Government employees of the district, threatened the local Tamils who were living in the areas traditionally for ages. The Hindu temples would be demolished and the Buddhist stupa and the Tree

relating to the Buddhist worship would be planted across the Hindu regions by the incoming Sinhala settlers under the direct patronage of Government. Trincomalee was the worst affected region where systematic demographic shift by Government programs made the poor and the Middle Class Srilankan Tamils lose jobs, educational opportunities with life and livelihood getting eternally threatened.

Ever since J.R.Jayawardane became the President in 1978, the constitutional amendment and the systematic hatred against the Tamils gained pace. Jaffnaites and the Tamil Bourgeoisie among them who considered themselves as always being close the Power Center in Colombo for centuries had started losing the right connect in the “ruling Government” of the day in Colombo. The Jaffna University and the Elite population who for the last couple of centuries produced intellectuals in the region enraged in this new development resulting in space for militancy in the minds of young Tamils.

The feeling of hatred feeds more hate to the minds; a visiting Sinhalese mob, an organized one under the patronage of Gamini Dissanayake and Lalith Athulathmudali under the direct supervision of Cyril Mathew torched the Library which had a rare collection of manuscripts and works numbering 95000 and more. The Uniformed men assisted by civil mob attacked the Targets on the day burning the books and bringing down the Library, one of the largest one in Asia then and as well a Hindu temple nearby and bringing down Office of the Tamil daily newspaper Eelanadu. Later in 1991, Ranasinghe Premadasa then Srilankan President, claimed that both Gamini

Dissanayake and Lalith Athulathmudali personally participated in the burning down of the Jaffna Library. However, the curfew across the Jaffna and the adjoining district made it impossible for the news to spread from the peninsula to other regions of the burning down of the Library. It was only few days later the news of burning down of the Library was circulated through The Hindu and Dinamani published from Chennai. On that day when the TULF MP protested in Parliament on burning down of the Library the then President JR Jayawardane refused to look into the matter. Of all the crime committed by the Sinhala thugs, burning down of the Jaffna Library remained as the most disturbing memory in the minds of the Jaffnaites as well as in the annals of Srilanka and Tamil Eelam Freedom Movement.

16

Falkland War

During early 80s when the Cold war was at its worst or best, the technology was shaping this era hitherto unknown in human history. The Nation States attained unquestionable supremacy over the ultras, regional satraps, and divisive social groupings and of every conceivable so called non-state actors. Eavesdropping, aerial surveillance, communication speed, satellite phones and radios, computing power were jointly and severally aiding to the State Power in geometric proportions whereas the same tools were aiding the non-state actors in arithmetic proportions.

However not many were comprehending the emergence of this new order and definitely the South-American Nations were not one among them. Argentina, a super-power in the Football world that had won the 1978 world cup was one among the poor countries of the world where joblessness and poverty were a common scene. Two years earlier, Argentina had come under the military rule, the result of which was evident during the early 1980s the period in which the country suffered 600% inflation, ever declining GDP since their prosperous period of early 1900s, unemployment at historic high levels. The rulers had to up their stock and were waiting for a chance to shore up their image. In the previous years the rulers had helped US in an operation in

Nicaragua and were hoping that a dramatic military or political moves by the country would receive support from the US. On the Pacific Ocean near their coastline lay a small-island, Falklands, which had good soil and people with British and Scottish lineage having settled in the Island for more than 150 years. Falklands since then had been ruled by Brits with a very small presence of army more of a symbolic nature.

Argentines for long have been taught from their childhood in school that their land, Falkland, had been stolen by the invading British and had been under their rule ever since then. Argentina had raised this issue in the United Nations but were never given an ear as the Britain had been a super-power for hundreds of years. The British diplomacy too did not give any serious thought as what would be the action from the Argentines at any specific point of time, and so remained virtually blind-folded in their readiness in the absence of threat perception.

In early February, 1982 the junta of Argentina marched forth to the Falkland Islands and captured it in no time. As expected, there was simply no resistance from the Island because the British troops which remained there as a symbol did not have fire-power to match the Argentines. Though the invading party was able to capture the Island, it could not move and decisively deploy all it could during that period as there were some simmering tensions with Chile with whom they shared the longest border.

World's first Superpower Great Britain stood surprised and perplexed at this development when the Telegraphic messages from the Governor of the Falkland Islands read that they have surrendered to the invading

army of the Argentina. Few hours before that the Governor had already sent them a forewarning that by dusk Argentina Army would be reaching the door steps. When the news reached across the world, each country voiced their individual positions, and the initial public reaction from the United States was that it would remain neutral. The Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher did not react to the news and was not sure how they are going to take the Islands back, if they would be going for it after all. The claim by the Argentines that the Falkland had been stolen by the British had been and contested by the British, that was not the talking point. The British Public in general until then were unaware of the existence of this island under their control, did not react dramatically. However, the US position was very tricky and the French intentions were unclear. The Soviets, who were non-serious players to this episode were willing to extend some conditional help for the Argentina which did not dramatically alter the course of the war.

The British realized that they are heavily depended on their Navy's capabilities for the amphibian and as well air-support but were unsure of the depth of arsenal that were needed for the war to recapture the Island. In a quick turnaround, the US President Ronald Reagan who seemed to having a divided house of advisors on the US position of Falkland scene was willing to extend every support to Britain and pushed his team to do so. The weapons sought by the British were to be delivered at the earliest possible time and also, the US was willing to line up their Navy and the war strategists on board to assist the British on recapturing the Island. The Brits were aware that they cannot take

back Falkland without the US support since they were not sure of even getting war-ships refueled easily in that remote place.

The most critical piece of the support was the satellite assistance of the US which helped a perfect maneuvering of the British troops to defeat the Argentines. The British, during one of the battles were estimating a small group of the Argentine resistance whereas the actual numbers were much higher that was spotted by the US Satellites. This critical piece of intelligence helped the British to plan their ground advancement properly during the war that lead to their victory. There were other additional critical helps from the US such as advanced war planes and intelligence systems, but the satellite view of the ground movement of the enemy troops was defining the future wars forever much more than the any other intelligence developed by humans till that point of time.

The important lessons of the war though were many, the groups or nations that would wage wars in future with a developed nation need to fear was the heights of the assistance from beyond the earth could redefine the winners of a War. Since then, all developed nations were at a distinct advantage with other nations who did not possess such a technology and would remain in the same state for the near future. It was then time for the individual armed groups, as well as for the nations who did not possess this technology, to keep this always in mind for their armed ventures.

The young Tamil militant leaders of Srilanka, some of those who were Oxford educated along with the others who did not gain such

education had noted this development. Uma Maheswaran, V.Balakumar of EROS, the war-lord V.Prabhakaran all had their brains working faster on this latest nuance. The most important feature of the War in future would be the critical Satellite input which might impact the outcome of the War and that would never be let in the hands of Militant movements and would always remain with the Nation-States.

The analysis and outcome of these militants' on that day might have been that, such a technological leap would remain privy to the Superpowers and never a small nation like Srilanka would get such inputs in their war against the Tamil Militants. If that had been the conclusion, it would be the most disastrous day of the Tamil Militancy in Srilanka well before their major battles had begun. LTTE's chief arms procurer KP, years later in 2009, would confess that the Srilankan Tamils were few years behind in their armed struggle with Government of Island Nation; the reason KP felt so was because, the world was witnessing huge technological leap which became easily available and accessible to all State actors, whereas any breach by a non-state actor would be easily identifiable and made them vulnerable.

The author certainly feels that the Warlord might have noticed the impact of Satellite Technology and would have factored into his future moves because, in the same year India had launched its own space shuttle marking a great beginning of a new era for the sub-continent. However in early 1980s, India was in a nascent stage and the Warlord would have calculated that he would be able to achieve his Goal much before India moved ahead even if the Tamil Eelam was unpalatable to

Indian Diplomacy. Additionally, he had then planned to build a unique political constituency in Tamilnadu to counter all diplomatic pressures from India. The thoughts of the War-lord and the Srilankan Tamil Militant leaders generally might have been in sync. However, there might have been couple of individuals with a different opinion - perhaps Balasingham and KP - in Srilankan Tamil Leadership team, yet did not dare to speak to the Warlord as it might offend him.

17

July 1983 Pogrom

20th Century has witnessed huge crime on humanity where the rulers or the aggressors having scant regard for one of the most intelligent of the God's creations in the planet. They did not stop with the First World War, nor with the Jallian Wallabagh; the aggressors continued with another round of slaughter in the Second World War until Hiroshima and Nagasaki were in flames. After a brief pause, the aggressors continued in the middle-east and finally in the sub-continent; only difference in all these cases were, the aggressors had different names but sufferers were the humanity.

History says during the First World War over 38 million casualties occurred out of which 17 million were dead and over 20 million were injured. The figures for the second world war was even worse with over 60 million dead that was close to 3% of the world population in 1940s.

Let us hold. We were talking about the war and the crime against the humanity where two or more nations would be fighting against each other. But, the Pogrom in Srilanka was executed by a Nation-State with Sovereign Rights as per the UN Conventions and Charters, and that too, against its own people who were living in their homeland; the reader may bear it in mind that Srilanka could then in 1983 could be bracketed amongst the matured democracies and had a civilian as the country's

President and not a military dictator at the helm. Srilanka, unlike its neighbours in the sub-continent, was almost on par with developed countries. Then Srilanka had then more than 80% literacy and the Per Capita Income higher than most of the Asian countries. Human capital, if measured in terms of skilled professionals and intellectuals, the country never was short of it. The Srilankans, if one recalls from the previous chapters that during the British rule did not allow the Civil Service Officers to be recruited from India as they could meet all the demands that were needed for the British rulers. Additionally, it is a country that depends on tourism, and one would expect the people to be accommodative to another culture with that kind of a background.

For the Srilanka's marauders during the **Black July '83 riots** all the above did not matter. It did not matter to the person who should have stood as the savior; but, he was the first one to instigate the riots and protect the killers of the Srilankan Tamils in thousands across the Island nation. The person was none other President J.R.Jayawardane who was complicit to the riots and encouraged Sinhala mobs.

On the night of July 23rd 1983 at 11.30pm, the LTTE had ambushed an Army Patrol vehicle forcing the accompanying truck load of Srilankan soldiers to come for their help. The LTTE men who were hiding behind the bushes came out and started firing at the soldiers and killing all thirteen of them. This was the first major attack by the LTTE and was then carried out in Jaffna town. The plan and execution shocked the Army and the Srilankan Government, and a rage swept through the Srilankan Nation at the audacity of the attacks from the militants.

The bodies of the soldiers were usually sent back to their native villages as per the custom of the Srilankan Army. However, the Army official stationed in Jaffna believed to have told the Government that they would do the cremation at a nearby Jaffna crematory ground because the bodies were badly damaged. The President J.R.Jayawardane wanted the cremation to be done with State honours in Colombo the Capital City, though the families wanted to do the last rites according to their customs in their respective homes. As the dead bodies were to arrive in the Capital city of Colombo, the riots broke out; it became worse when the large number of people paid homage to the sons of their soil and poured their anger against the innocent Srilankan Tamils who were residing in Colombo. The homes of the Srilankan Tamils were identified with the help of voters list and targeted; the resultant mayhem left 3000 Tamils dead and more than 150,000 rendered homeless across the nation. Some 8000 homes and 5000 shops owned by the Srilankan Tamils were destroyed (or burnt down) in the mayhem. The riots continued for more than a week without any remorse from the Srilankan President and the perpetrators. Though the State unleashed unspeakable terror on the Tamils, the civil society of Srilanka was a progressive one and helped the number of dead to be stopped at that figure. Many of the Sinhalese friends protected their Tamil friends by keeping them at their homes in large numbers and helping them to overcome the trauma. The estimated loss was USD 300 million during that period which could never be overcome by ordinary souls. Then 'TELEGRAPH' reported the words uttered by the Srilankan

President J.R.Jayawardane as follows:

“I am not worried about the opinion of the Tamil people ... now we cannot think of them, not about the lives or their opinions... the more you put pressure on the North, the happier the Sinhalese people will be here ... Really if I starve the Tamils out, the Sinhalese people will be happy”

The Pogrom gave birth to a stronger and Institutionalized LTTE, a non-State Actor to counter the State Terror; they were proscribed as Terrorists, due to their acts of Commissions and Omissions in countering the State Terror but primarily as their capabilities was anathema to the State actors. The Pogrom also threw limited institutionalized support from India, and the Indian Army trained scores of militants who later joined various militant groups including the LTTE. However, the Warlord felt the training of the militants by the Indian Army was not enough to take on the Srilankan Army, as his goal was to create a homeland for his people than merely winning a Srilankan in a gunfight.

Social Landscape – Tamil Regions of India

In the 1980s, Tamilnadu had firmly come under the two regional parties (Dravidian Parties); it was because in 1965, the rulers in New Delhi had imposed Hindi to be learnt compulsorily in schools and colleges of Tamilnadu where Tamil is the native language of the people. The virulent anti-Hindi agitations largely led by students and widely aided and supported by the Dravidian Party, DMK, ensured that the national parties would never gain a foothold in Tamilnadu in the following decades. The generation that overturned top-down view of the New Delhi were in their forties/fifties had their social views spilling all over the media and social interactions influencing the growing younger generation of Tamils. Their views were discussed widely in all spheres impacting the Tamil language, people and culture; the sufferings of the Tamils of the Srilanka was a point of everyday discussion in the society that stood largely behind the Srilankan Tamils.

Quite remarkably the same generation that had put the Dravidian Parties at the helm also encouraged their younger wards to look at science as a way for solving the social problems and complexities. So India's achievements in the space and nuclear science and the tempo of

digital revolution in the western countries are as much a topic in their minds as the Srilankan Tamil Problem. Mr. Rangarajan (popular Tamil Writer Sujatha) a scientist in the Indian Institute of Science fed the young, middle and old Tamil minds through his writings in *Kumudham*, a Tamil Weekly and was mirroring the advancements in Computing & Digital Technology through a series of articles titled “*Silicon Chillu Puratchi*” – “Silicon Revolution.” This was also the same period in which the various Caste Groups across Tamil Nadu consolidated their respective folks demanding an individual Caste based reservation in higher education and Government jobs. Social scientists would accept that then in 1980s, some of the caste groups were not adequately represented in the Government jobs and also were not getting admission in the fields of higher education.

The readers will have to note that Tamil Nadu had then reserved 69% of Government jobs and the same percentage of seats in Educational Institutions for the multiple caste groups together defined as backward castes. However, the reason for demanding such an individual caste based reservation was that, the benefits of such a reservation policy went to many caste groups that were enjoying a relatively higher social status, thus depriving the benefits which originally should have accrued to marginalized castes. Some of the folks of the Dravidian Movement were quite stung by this new development as the society was now getting divided by Caste, a division which was constantly and consistently opposed by the Dravidian Movement as superficial layer. The ruling parties solved the reservation demands then amicably but it

left scars which were visible.

The later part of the 1980s was a defining period for India. Three different and divergent social events were emerging in Tamilnadu; the first being the subject of sufferings of the Srilankan Tamils who had lost millions worth of properties leaving few thousands dead and many more losing limbs and close to half-a-million deserting Srilanka to reach the Western Shores for a decent life. The Dravidian Movement of Tamilnadu being a Political Movement without ever participating in armed struggle could not effectively protect the Srilankan Tamils by Political means alone. So most of the stake-holders of the Dravidian Movement were just sticking to their core strength of Political deference and demonstrations without having an idea of how to engage New Delhi. Secondly, the advancement of scientific temper in India, especially in Engineering, Electronics and Software fascinated the second generation stake-holders of the Dravidian Movement resulting in establishment of a number of Private Engineering Institutions providing a platform in the later years for a rapid growth of the Industry, Technology and the society. Thirdly, the caste polarization was a defeatist outcome of the period for the Dravidian Movement though polarization happened primarily was because of the backwardness (both economically and socially) of certain caste groups.

As political power in Tamilnadu was firmly held by the regional parties, there was a perception that the Tamil people have more regionalist tendencies. There were murmurs that if LTTE is allowed to create a Tamil Eelam from Srilanka they would help their counterparts

of Tamilnadu to achieve the same. However, this would never be the case as there were absolutely no counterparts to LTTE in Tamilnadu and there were no such significant section of population that preferred armed struggle; admittedly, though the LTTE chief certainly had collaborated with Tamil fringe groups of India, and had armed them, he knew at the back of the mind that there was never a collective burning desire in Tamils of India, because there was no legal or judicial discrimination of the Tamils in India. Still he collaborated with fringe groups of India because he had to keep some disgruntled folks of Tamilnadu in his folds due to nature of the help that he can get from them.

As discussed above the social currents of the Tamilnadu were tending towards pursuit of higher education, towards attaining better social status for their folks, and towards enjoying the fruits of impending expansion of India. One may conclude that, when a significant section of the society was competing with the sole aim of demanding of pie of good life and prosperity there was not a possibility for any kind of secessionist platform to be built for an Independent Tamil Nation out of Republic of India. On the contrary, growth of a secessionist movement needs a deep-seated unrest from the civil society, which was never a case in Tamilnadu neither before nor after India independence.

Indian Politicians, Strategic Advisors to the Government and the Diplomats failed to understand the above social currents in Tamilnadu and always thought that the rise of LTTE and formation of an

Independent Tamil Nation in Srilanka would lead to rise of secessionist movement in Tamilnadu. This misinterpretation meant a Strategic disconnect to the reality.

Entry of Srilankan Refugees to India – Wealthy, Middle Class and the Poor

The 1983 pogrom sponsored by the Srilankan State ended up creating a huge influx of refugees to India's Tamil region, Tamilnadu. As hundreds and thousands of refugees started coming into Tamilnadu through boats at an exorbitant cost it created a new wave of emotions. The effigies of Srilankan President were burnt and large scale demonstrations by the Political parties as well as by the public made the Government of India to sit up and tackle the problem of the Srilankan Tamils hitherto largely ignored by the Government of India. Each arm of the Government of India, viewed it in a different way. Few of them saw the incoming of refugees in large numbers as a security issue to the Government of India, fewer viewed as it could put more stress on the economic front but others were generally sympathetic to the Srilankan Tamils.

The decade of late 1970s to late 1980s was a period in India and in Tamilnadu wherein people slowly invested and started owning their own houses in cities and towns. Until then the houses which they owned in their native villages were usually smaller ones without toilets; most of the families that bought houses through mortgages paid

a minimum of 16% interest rates to the Government owned Banks. Those who borrowed privately could only do so at a much higher percentage of interest rates. Worse, the margin money to buy a house had to come from people's own savings which were pegged at 40% of the total cost of the house. Finance was hard to come by for most of the families in buying their houses; so many could not afford buying a house and some of them who bought, could not afford a decent living after paying so much for their mortgages. There were families that skipped a meal whenever it would be possible, travelled on foot whenever it would be possible, bought new clothes as prized possessions and finally when they chose to eat out at restaurants, they felt the event as an indulgence. Every Nickel and Dime were worth in multiples of thousands for their livelihood. Still many did not allow their financial situation known to their neighbours and relatives; it was a period of very slow economic progress in India and in Tamilnadu though the hardship of such progress were visible and in some cases were quite painful. It was in this period, an avalanche of refugees, from Srilanka landed in Tamilnadu.

Among the refugees who came to India, there were a number of Wealthy and Middle class Srilankan Tamils who had a number of relatives settled in Western countries. Some of them did not seem to have much problems in sourcing money for their livelihood as the father or the eldest son of the family would be in a western country supporting the family; a number of them hired decent houses and paid the rent and took care of their livelihood for themselves. There were

some others who did not have money to pay but could borrow from their relatives residing abroad. Finally there were a few more who were left with no options to fend themselves looked at Government of Tamilnadu for support. Though the layers of the refugees were multiple in nature, in the cities of Tamilnadu, the rich among them were the most visible and some of them were seen to be spending money without any repugnance. But in reality their spending was just the same as or less than that of their lifestyle in Srilanka. Also some of the militants who were being trained and staying among the civilians were also not bothered splurging money though alcoholism was not noticed among them. This was unlike the militants of very early 1980s who could not afford for their food liberally and had to mind their money spent for food and travel. The common folks in Tamilnadu could not understand the habits of the Srilankan folks, as at that point of time even eating out or travelling in a private taxi was considered as an ultimate luxury by most of the families in cities and towns of Tamilnadu. There was a total disconnect in the habits of the Indian Tamils and the Srilankan Tamils; at that point of time India was still a under-developed country. Some lumpen elements in Tamilnadu complained that the arrival of Srilankan refugees had created inflationary pressures in the local economy.

The refugee flow created a huge administrative challenge for the Government of Tamilnadu as they had to maintain a database of the incoming refugees and their movements also. For the refugees who did not have money to support to themselves, the Government of

Tamilnadu, provided shelters in the camps specifically marked for their stay; also arrangements for provisions, clothes, books and educational facilities were set aside for the refugees by the Government of Tamilnadu. But unlike the Western counterparts, the Government of India strangely did not allow the refugees to be integrated with the local population of Tamilnadu. There are refugees in the camps of Tamilnadu who are languishing for more than 30 years without passport or citizenship, one of the worst crimes a country can do for the men of their own blood.

Sensing the problems of staying in India, most of the refugees had left Indian shores. It is to be noted that worldwide, the Srilankan Tamil refugee numbers are put at 800000 (eight hundred thousand) whereas the numbers of Srilankan Tamil refugees in India are less than 80000 (eighty thousand). For some of the politicians in India and Tamilnadu in particular, the Srilankan Tamil crisis is a political issue to be accorded a foremost priority but the status of refugees in Tamilnadu, their transformation, development were all relegated to the secondary. The question of citizenship for the refugees or their return to the native all were never prioritized.

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Ascendancy of LTTE

On the fateful night of July 23rd, 1983, when the LTTE, the most formidable armed Unit of Srilankan Tamil Militants ambushed 13 Srilankan soldiers to avenge the death of their member, a new era of war had begun in Srilanka, and in the next 30 years leaving more than 100,000 people dead and close to a million seeking refugee status across the continents.

Over the next few years the LTTE Chief V.Prabhakaran modelled his Tamil National Defense force broadly as Army, Air Wing and Sea Wing that would ensure a well-rounded of the Institutional structure of his Eelam National Defense force. It seemed to have taken a little more than ten years, from late 1970s to late 1980s, to build each of these wings; in order to support these units, it also put in place two other Auxiliary wings to provide critical means to fight the war - an Intelligence Wing and Arms Procurement Wing. The LTTE Army also had its Elite fighting force that was created later in 1992 and was led by Brigadier Balraj. This Unit was designed during the First battle of Elephant Pass to capture the Jaffna from the Srilankan forces that were occupying ever since Indian Peace Keeping Force left the shores of Srilanka. The intelligence unit was a highly secretive one with its offices extending all five continents across the globe led initially by

Vasanthan and later ruthless leader namely Pottu Amman (Sivasankaran); additionally one more unit, perhaps the most ruthless unit was its suicide wing, that was in a way responsible for some of the most spectacular success of the LTTE, and made LTTE as the most dreaded Organization of the world. Over a period of time, its intelligence wing chief Pottu Amman became almost the number two in the LTTE and enjoyed Prabhakaran's confidence immensely. The title Amman in Tamil means maternal uncle – one's mother's brother, and the Srilankan Tamils extend the title to whomsoever they would call with awe and respect. In Tamilnadu, the word finds its usage in limited way though it carries the same meaning.

Other than the structure discussed as above, it had an International wing providing a platform for engaging Western Nations, International Media and for fundraising from the expat Tamils of Srilanka settled in Western Countries. Prior to the large number expat Tamils, the major source of the International Network of the LTTE was EROS (Eelam Revolutionary Organization of Students) the first Militant group who were able to demonstrate the cause for the Srilankan Tamils abroad. They were also the ones who ensured a large number of Srilankan Tamils to get trained in usage of Arms and Ammunitions from Palestinian armed groups. Subsequently the LTTE, through their training began manufacturing of the Arms, Guns, Grenades and also small Tanks which over a period of time ensured endless supply locally procured Arms for the LTTE men, to fight against Srilankan Army as well against Indian Peace Keeping Force (IPKF). As we had seen earlier,

EROS was the initiative of young Srilankan Tamil students from London who wanted to wipe out the troubles of their folks back in Srilanka. The Chief of EROS V.Balakumaran fought the war against the Srilankan Army along with the V.Prabhakaran till the very end and finally surrendered to the Srilankan Army. It is believed that he along with LTTE Political Head Nadesan were killed post surrendering to the Srilankan Army. V. Balakumaran was a good Orator and could command respect in a conversation within the group. He merged his EROS with LTTE during the war with IPKF and was also later believed to be taking Political and Military strategy classes for the LTTE men including the new recruits.

The men who were recruited by the LTTE were given initial training in the vast tracts of jungles in Vanni and Mullaitivu provinces in Srilanka; as the new recruits grew in numbers, due to paucity of secret locations in Tamil regions of Srilanka, the training camps were set up in coastal regions of Tamilnadu, India (between 1982–86) near Pondicherry and Vedaranyam with the help of Local Politicians and VIPs of the region, and in the later stages the Indian Army began training them. As discussed in the earlier chapters the sea route between Tamilnadu and the Srilanka is very short (between 15–40 kilometers) and so the fishermen of both sides were able to take the Militants in and out of Tamilnadu very easily for money and sometimes merely out of a cause for their own folks.

The LTTE till 1987 (starting from early 1982) had its offices in several places in Tamilnadu for political levers and for communications with

the Srilankan Tamil region from Tamilnadu; in 1987 September, immediately after the break-out of the war between LTTE and IPKF, these offices were shut down by the Government of India. At its peak it had offices in over 42 different countries across the globe with a mandate to enlist support of the Local Governments in their separatist fight against Srilanka. The reach of LTTE across continents in a number of countries was possible due to a large number of Srilankan Tamil refugees willing to take up the cause of the Srilankan Tamils' sufferings to the International community and the International Media.

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Operation Poomalai

The early part of 1985 saw the LTTE being nurtured by Tamilnadu Chief Minister MGR with all levers of the State administration, without any inhibition, supporting the armed militancy, especially the LTTE, to counter the genocidal tendencies of the Government of Srilanka. He supported because he felt it was correct to defend our own people across the shores who happened to live in their homeland presently encapsulated by a different Sovereign Nation. MGR believed that India ideally should have militarily intervened and stopped Tamil genocide during the early 80s in Srilanka. He felt the limitations of the New Delhi are imaginary, and was willing to walk the extra mile as long he was physically able to move. His failing health was the biggest limitation.

When Indira Gandhi was the PM, she did not have any worries on the functioning of MGR. On 31st of October, 1984, the Prime Minister of India, Indira Gandhi, was gunned down by her own bodyguards who happened to be belonging to Sikh community from Punjab. The assassination of Prime Minister Indira Gandhi bloodied the streets of New Delhi with hundreds of innocent Sikhs murdered as a revenge. Her son Rajiv Gandhi was appointed as the next Prime Minister, began his innings horrendously as the Administration was seen to be

complicit to the riots and mayhem. However with India having a population of less than two percent of Sikhs, the carnage was put on the backburner. In the next General election that was held within two months after the death of Indira Gandhi, her son Rajiv Gandhi won the National Elections as he was seen to be from a younger generation with a cherubic face, and so the people thought he represents a young, new and a vibrant India. At that point of time India had to contain multiple discontent leading up to insurgencies from within India and chiefly from Punjab, Assam, Kashmir, North-Eastern States and Gorkhaland.

The New Prime Minister lost no time to be seen as a positive Leader and he entered into Peace agreements with insurgents from all the regions. However, the biggest threat to peace for the region was from outside India that is Srilanka to which he had no clue due to the complexity of the problem and articulation of the parties concerned. Rajiv Gandhi being new to the highest office could not handle the complexities posed by a vast country, and so in the next couple of years his charisma started fading and the pressures of a big, diverse nation started taking a toll on him. The charges of corruption on the Government, uncontrolled expenses of the Government for non-essentials was too hot to handle, and so were the internal dissensions within his Congress Party. As someone who has had a very comfortable life in younger days, his style of functioning came under attack from all and sundry.

During this period, the Tamilnadu Chief Minister MGR was intermittently ill from 1985, and so Tamilnadu did not have an effective

spokesman who would take up the problems of the Srilankan Tamils genuinely and bring it to closure.

Post July 1983 pogrom in Srilanka, the Srilankan Tamil youths joined the militant units in large numbers to fight against the Srilankan Army and Police; the Militancy movement showed remarkable increase in the number of recruits with high morale, and the ability to turn the tide against the Srilankan Government. Additionally, as the support from Tamilnadu was in place, the Srilankan Tamils were moving into a slightly better plane with the Militants holding their bases. The Srilanka Government worried over the rise of insurgency started attacking the Srilankan Tamil towns and villages with their Army at an increasing pace but Militants fought back effectively. However, the Srilankan Airforce and Army through their coordinated attacks destroyed millions of properties displacing thousands of people in the North-Eastern regions of Srilanka. The worried Government of India wanted Srilanka to hold back their fire power and chose to do it in style that resulted in 'Operation Poomalai'; Poomalai in Tamil means Garland made of Flowers and the name 'Operation Poomalai' culturally symbolizes peace and Welcoming new events!

Indian Air Force (IAF) planes took off from their bases and breached into Srilankan Airspace in July '1987 with food packets and medicines; IAF dropped the food packets and medicines in the Srilankan Tamil majority regions and returned to their Airbase opening a new chapter of regional unrest. The Srilankan Government vehemently opposed the Airspace breach as they are a Sovereign Nation and the breach violates

the conventions. **Just before the ‘Operation Poomalai’ the President of Srilanka, JR Jayewardene chided the Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi (for supporting and aiding the Srilankan Tamil Militants) stating that his own vast political experience was equal to the age of the Indian Prime Minister who was around forty-six.** Such an insinuation from a small neighbor Srilanka was enough to irk the Indian Prime Minister’s ego and Rajiv Gandhi retaliated by sending his Airforce in the Srilankan Airspace.

Though taken aback by the Indian response, who did not care to send the Army at the instance of outbreak of Pogrom in 1983, the Srilankan Government was willing to take the insult and even more if India were to rub the salt on those wounds. However, they knew that the Government of India, its Administration, and Rajiv Gandhi knew nothing about the determination of the LTTE and its Leader Prabhakaran who would not flinch at the stare of Indian Leaders. The most experienced among the Srilankan Leaders especially President JR Jayewardene decided to bide their time and waited for their day. However, the minnows among the Srilankan hardliners were not willing to bide time but ready to fling at the Indian Leader when their wise ones displayed calmness burying rage.

Post “Operation Poomalai” the Indian Prime Minister lost no time in engaging the Srilankan Government for talks though a similar exercise earlier in Thimpu in 1985 never yielded results. **The Government of India decided to dictate peace in their own terms setting aside the decades of civil unrest and ignoring the related origins of Srilankan**

Tamil Militancy. One fear the Indian Government kept in its conscious decision process was – a much dramatized blind alley - that allowing the LTTE (or any other armed movements of Srilankan Tamils) to earn an Independent Nation-State Tamil Eelam might trigger a similar demand from Tamilnadu. The Peace dictate from the Indian side was a very audacious decision process much like the behavior of Superpowers of pre & post-cold war era. The Government of India called on the Militant groups from their jungle hideouts of Srilanka and asked them to sign the peace process, lay down their arms and to agree to the peace initiation that had provisions for merger of North & Eastern provinces of Srilanka, giving them a majority in those regions post the merger. It is to be noted that at that point of time, the warring parties -the Srilankan Government and the Militants - could not have much say on the Peace Agreement, and India chose its free will amidst the cries from the Tamil regions of India to halt the Srilankan aggression on the Tamil lands of Srilanka.

The Srilankan Government quickly reconciled itself to realities of the forced agreement thrust on them and drew broad contours for the agreement; Merger of the Northern and Eastern Provinces of Srilanka that results in Tamil Majority region, Provincial Government with equal representation for various militant and ethnic groups, Power sharing would be on a non-Federal basis and finally Militants must lay down their arms.

The Warlord V.Prabhakaran was airlifted from the jungles of Vanni and accommodated in a five star hotel in New Delhi. He rejected the

agreement stating it did not meet their basic demands for recognition of Tamil home land and self-determination, which may be achieved in a Federal set-up and refused to sign the accord. However he agreed to lay down arms in a limited way. Then there was no information on V.Prabhakaran for the next few days as Rajiv Gandhi flew down to Colombo to sign peace the agreement with Srilanka leaving the LTTE cadres and the second-rung leaders of the LTTE and Tamils were perplexed to the extent of shock.

The Indian Prime Minister was in a hurry and wanted to be seen as someone who enables Peace in the region; also, the Government of India felt that it was very important for a process to begin rather than holding onto a position of a stalemate that would bring nothing to the table. Indian Intelligence agencies and Diplomats never stepped back to understand and appreciate the importance of Federalism and Pluralism that has been ingrained in the Indian Social Fabric and as well in the Constitution; they conveniently forgot that such a spirit helps in our people reposing so much faith on India despite its breadth and the depth of diversity. The diplomats and strategy advisors never ever realized such a confidence that emanates from Federalism truly alters all discontents in a Political Landscape allowing people to engage in a positive way. It would be almost impossible to fathom the direction from where a discontent would erupt in peace negotiations in a non-Federal set up. Worse, they did not bother to understand then, neither now and don't seem to be so in future too!!

Having failed to understand the source of discontent of the LTTE, the

Indian Diplomats became very angry with its Commander Prabhakaran for his intransigent attitude who stood his ground and said that he would not lay down arms. But more so importantly the Diplomats were keen to tell the World that India is developing into one of the most important Global Power. India's position then was well understood by the senior most Leaders of the Srilankan Government very well; for Prabhakaran, India's priorities were least of his concerns as the priorities of LTTE was to stop the invading Srilankan Army and win the freedom of his homeland for his people. **For the ones who engage him on the question of Srilankan Tamil homeland, the size of Individuals or Political Entities are not important; he is on par with the Almighty!!** No force on Earth could be allowed to question or counter this position!

The Peace process began with handshakes, signature, and the Srilankan Government extending Guard of Honour to the Prime Minister of India, perhaps very well knowing the rage of the Soldiers in the forces. The Prime Minister of India took his strides in the open ground where the Lankan Soldiers were holding their rifles and saluting the Indian Leader; a hardliner among those soldiers, Vijith Rohona, chose to vent the anger of the Srilankan hardliners despite his seniors holding back their grouse. In a lightning move he reversed his rifle and hit on Rajiv's head; the Indian Prime Minister being a very watchful person ducked immediately and saved himself from a serious blow on the back side of his head that could have left him bleeding profusely. The soldier was immediately caught and restrained by

Lieutenant Colonel Mendis who was walking along with the Indian Leader during the Guard of Honour.

Soon the attempt was forgotten by our bureaucrats & diplomats and the Srilankans seemed to be the Angels! None till this day have a clue on what went into minds of our Diplomats, Politicians and Rajiv Gandhi himself. Though the Srilankan Government had court marshalled Vijith Rohona it should not be enough from India's strategic perspective; the attack on a Prime Minister of India that could almost be considered as an attack on his life cannot be ignored; but, the mind of our Babudom seemed to have handled this as one of tasks on hand approach rather than stepping back and analyzing with a larger picture on the ground. **Had there been such broader level analysis at least at that point in time, perhaps our Indian Army might not have got into bloody Srilankan quagmire and lost so many lives. None in the India's strategic drawing rooms seemed to have cared for the attack on the Prime Minister and discussed it widely till today, at least not in public sphere. This deserves a discussion on the public space and the ramifications of the attack on our strategic interests.**

IPKF vs LTTE – Political Gambit Declined

The key features of the Indo-Srilankan accord signed on 29th July 1987 in Colombo by the Prime Minister of India and the President of Srilanka were enunciated in the devolution of powers to Srilankan Tamils to address the discontent and militancy in the region: those powers included the Merger of Tamil majority Northern & Eastern provinces, devolution of power to the merged entity by amending the Constitution of Srilanka which would still retain its Unitary Status, and to agree to the status of Tamil as Official Language in all districts of Srilanka which was then limited to Northern province only. Additionally, India would guarantee peace by posting their Army in the Island Nation as Peace Keeping Force.

Post the accord between India & Srilanka Government in July 1987, IPKF (Indian Peace keeping Force), was sent to Srilankan Tamil areas. People of Northern and Eastern Srilanka and especially of Jaffna felt greatly relieved as the Indian Army marched into their land. The joy of people knew no bounds as they were able to freely move from one place to another without fear of being killed or attacked by the Srilankan forces, or getting caught in the cross-fire between Tamil guerrilla groups or the cross-fire between the Srilankan Army and the

Tamil Militants. The joy of the Tamil people puzzled the LTTE men as they seemed too far stretched with their Leader being housed incommunicado in New Delhi, under the Supervision of the Government of India, to ensure signing of the Indo-Srilankan Peace accord by the two Governments. The Warlord of the Velvettithurai, a man who would never flinch at the fire of the battletank was subordinated by the Government of India, to agree to an accord after being called in for the talks with New Delhi, a snub that he would never forget. Not that he would immediately spur the accord because his stakes would be reduced, but the manner in which the terms of the agreement were dictated to him, reduced his stature from being a man of destiny to a seeker. The Pride of the Warlord was bludgeoned and it would not heal more so due to the events that followed with the presence of the Indian Army among his folks in Jaffna.

Once the Warlord was sent back to Srilanka several days after the accord was signed, IPKF had its task cut out; one, to ensure LTTE and Srilankan army do not fight with each other; two, as per the accord the elections were to be held in the Tamil regions of the Srilanka which would be merged and to have an elected Chief Minister; three, to disarm the Militant Groups including LTTE (in the political parlance LTTE was to be prodded to surrender its arms and resign itself to the Political Path dictated by India, fanciful wish indeed)!

A factor that was imbibed within the Indian Army but never articulated well within the Srilankan Tamil Circles was that the Gentlemen Cadets of the Indian Army will fight a war as a war and

would not behave like Assassination Squads like the Srilankan Army behaved. Though they welcomed the Indian Army with joy as IPKF can definitely overpower the Srilankan Army, the fear of a mighty Indian Army intruding their lives which were then controlled by their boys evoked strange and suspicious responses from the people of Jaffna and the larger Srilankan Tamils. The Tamilnadu counterparts were no different in their opinion, as the Army was considered a combat force and not a force that is meant to practice diplomacy. However, the people of Tamilnadu in those days believed that IPKF would halt the progress of Srilankan Army into the Tamil areas which our Army did; also the people of Tamilnadu thought that the IPKF would also safeguard the interests of the Srilankan Tamil Militants as the IPKF cannot be expected to stay for a longer period than warranted by Political Masters, a wild expectation that did not happen.

One of the key features of the Accord was to have an Interim Administrative Council with LTTE having a larger representation in the council overseeing the rehabilitation work, and would also support free and fair elections in the merged Northern & Eastern provinces of Srilanka. India also guaranteed peace in the region by initiating adequate measures for avoiding hostility. However, after signing the accord, the Srilankan Government, in the presence of Indian Peace Keeping Force, went about rebuilding their Administration in Jaffna town and in other areas of Northern Provinces of Srilanka. Police Stations which had then become defunct after the Tigers took over the administration a year earlier, became operational under the

supervision of the Srilankan Government. **The major grievance of the Srilankan Tamils were, their lands were being colonized by the Sinhalese by a Government Program to alter the demographic nature of the Eastern and Northern provinces of Srilanka. During the occupation of IPKF, the Srilankan Government resumed these actions under the guise of rehabilitation.** Another feature of the accord was to give general amnesty to all the Srilankan Tamils detained under the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The LTTE wanted to stop the reopening of police stations under the guise of rehabilitation process, until an Interim Government was formed in the Tamil areas of Srilanka. There were series of talks between the IPKF and the LTTE, with the latter pointing out the major lacunae in the implementation of the accord. The IPKF took up issues with the Government of India and the diplomats but it yielded no results. The Srilankan Government went about in their task of rebuilding their own Administration. Then LTTE moved into hitherto unknown space, as their Jaffna Political Wing Leader Thileepan began fast unto death in Nallur Kandaswamy temple demanding among others, halting rehabilitation work until an Interim Government is formed, and to stop reopening of the Police Stations by the Srilankan Government; the LTTE accused the Srilankan of Government, colonizing the lands owned by Srilankan Tamils, as it deliberately alters the demographic spread of the region.

Perhaps the Indian Government did not take fast unto death agitation of the LTTE seriously. The Chief of the IPKF insisted that the diplomat J.N.Dixit meet the boy who was fasting and to ensure that he

ended his fast but it did not happen. The event ensured that the LTTE got the attention of the Srilankan Tamils back to them which was then tilting towards the presence of the IPKF. But importantly to the Indian Government, the concerns of the LTTE and the reasons of the fasting was never in the subject of the discussion and so it resulted in grave consequences. In India, the Tamilnadu Chief Minister M.G. Ramachandran was almost in his last days and could not talk and the Tamilnadu Administration was in a limbo. The fast entered 11th day when Thileepan was declared dead evoking huge sympathy among the Tamils of India and Srilanka.

The Srilankan Tamils lost one of their brave hearts and could not reconcile at the death of a young hero; they became suspicious of the motives of the Indian presence. The point of talk during the fast unto death was Thileepan did not even have a drop of water until he died. Some of SL Tamils decided never to believe that India would ensure enough administrative powers to be devolved to them. It was widely believed that even LTTE Chief Prabhakaran let their boy to die during peaceful fast unto death agitation. The Tamils of Srilanka inferred that whatever be the action of Prabhakaran, the Indian Administration did not ensure the basic and just demands of LTTE and therefore the SL Tamils were met, on the contrary, they allowed Srilankan Government to have a free run in the Northern and Eastern Srilanka contravening the provisions of the accord.

The Indo-Srilankan agreement, Prabhakaran thought was a wakeup call to his campaign for an Independent Tamil Eelam.

Though he remained agitated at the intervention of the Indians, he realized that there were too many militant groups who claimed to have a say in the affairs of the Srilankan Tamils. He realized that, the hunger in most of the militant groups would be satiated at the prospect of a small perk from the Sinhalese or a third party India. He came to that conclusion from the last few years of actions till the Indo-Srilankan accord, and had formally started his targeted attacks against other Tamil Militant groups who were opposed to the LTTE an year earlier to the accord. But this time around he wanted to pre-empt any more Tamil militant groups as it would give levers to the Srilankan Government and the third parties like India. A stepped up attacks on the rival groups became very visible as he wanted to own a Unified Command of the Tamil representation both militarily and also politically. The Indian Army while building a good relationship with the LTTE and the other militant groups were perplexed at the internecine war between the militant groups, as it had been the bane of the armed militant struggle of the Tamils. He became relentless in his pursuit and forced the merger of the EROS in 1987, the group that had the best International support structure from the Srilankan Tamils who had settled abroad prior to the 1983 Pogrom. Prior to this merger, EROS was militarily a depleted force because in the year 1980, the group EROS had lost a lot of its fighters who broke away to form another Militant group EPRLF. Though all the militant groups unitedly fought together till 1985, in the eyes of Prabhakaran the split house meant uncoordinated effort that was drowning the goal of an

Independent Tamil Eelam. He had then decided to end every other Tamil representation on behalf of the Srilankan Tamils, after the Indian intervention, be it political or militant entity or a personae. The result was a series of a killings over the next two decades that puzzled all and sundry endlessly.

A word goes that when it rains it pours; it happened to the LTTE men a few days later when some of them were moving in their boat in Jaffna lagoon towards Tamilnadu. As per the Indo-Srilankan accord, the militants should surrender their weapons except the ones they needed to have for their self-defense, and unauthorized movements of the militants were never allowed. In an eventful night a boat, *Kadalpura*, carrying 17 men of the LTTE in the high seas that was seen moving towards Tamilnadu (Indian) coast was apprehended by the Srilankan Navy during the amnesty period. **The reports say that when the boat *Kadalpura* was sighted, Sinniah, a Tamil by birth, but a young loyal Navy man of the Srilankan Government then (now retired) spotted the moving boat of the LTTE and intercepted them;** fearing problems, the *Kadalpura* started moving fast towards the Tamilnadu Coast but could not evade the Srilankan Navy that skillfully apprehended the *Kadalpura*. It was claimed that Sinnaiah and one more Srilankan Navy man jumped into the *Kadalpura* and threatened the men on board to surrender. **As the ceasefire was in force and LTTE men in the boat did not fire at the Srilankan Navy believing the agreement is sacrosanct and India would protect their lives in any eventuality.** Emboldened by the fact that LTTE men were not actually firing at them, the Srilankan

Navy men, jumped into their ship with weapons and continued a threatening posture, since the firing by the LTTE would weaken their Organizational position. Then, as per the accord, all the militants had been granted a General Amnesty.

The LTTE commanders piloted their ship with the Srilankan Navy men on board towards IPKF with a lot of faith that the Indian Army will honour their commitment of Peace and Amnesty; once they reached the IPKF base, the LTTE men surrendered themselves to the IPKF in the Palaly base. The President Jayawardane was communicated that high-profile LTTE men that included Kumarappa and Pulenthiran who were area Commanders of Jaffna and Trincomalee respectively have been apprehended by Srilankan Navy and lodged with IPKF which rang as the sweetest news of the century for the Srilankan President. The Srilankan President announced the capture to the Media and stated that, the Amnesty that was granted was not for the actions or charges framed prior to the accord, the words that clearly violated the ceasefire agreement of the Indo-Srilankan accord. The Indian Diplomats nor any other stake-holders from India, did not warn the Srilankan President for his comments in the Media, as the content of the comments were in violation of the accord. The LTTE Commanders were on the most wanted list of the Srilankan Government and Military and the news of their arrest attracted lot of attention. The Indian Army and as well the Government, the diplomats and as well the RAW, did not really understand the importance of this development. For the Indian Government and the Indian Diplomats

including Strategic Advisors, the apprehended LTTE men were just few of the functionaries of the armed militant group; whereas for the Srilankan Army and the Government, their apprehension was a very significant victory and might potentially eliminate a powerful combat ready middle ranking force, yielding significant results in decimating the Tamil Militancy in the long run. President Jayawardane immediately called on the Indian Diplomat J.N. Dixit and asked him to hand over the Tamil Militants (terrorists in the eyes of the Srilankan Government). In Parallel, the Srilankan Army perhaps on the instruction of the Government encircled the place where the apprehended LTTE men were held in captive by the Indian Army. In the minds of people of Jaffna, the Srilankan Tamils, the safety of their LTTE boys was seen as being compromised by Indians as the encircled Srilankan Army were threatening to nab their boys dead or alive. The long shadow of doubt on the Indian occupation began to fall on the Srilankan Tamil minds, even while the discussion on the question of handover of the LTTE operatives were ongoing between the Srilankan Army and the Indian Army. It resulted in LTTE fighters encircling the Srilankan Army, that already had cordoned off the area which was then barricaded by the Indian Army. The step up action of the LTTE fighters around that area resulted in reinforcement of the Srilankan armed forces that further encircled the area adding one more layer after the LTTE fighters. The tired Indian Diplomats perhaps decided to yield to Srilankan Government demand as the LTTE was seen as an intransigent force, unwilling to heed to the Indian side requests who

were attempting to dictate peace on the region. The readers will have to recall that this was a cold war period and any attempts or actions on the peace were well applauded on the media, and the concerned Leaders were praised as Angels of peace with a recommendation to Nobel Peace Prize. The then Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi was happy to be bracketed among those who advocate peace across all regions of the world, with India being a leading force of the Non-aligned movement, a group that explicitly stayed away from US – Soviet Union bipolarized world order then.

The literature that is available in public portrays that none other than Srilankan Army and the LTTE themselves, understood the significance of the apprehension of the seventeen LTTE men that included Kumarappa and Pulenthiran. The Srilankan Army Officials started demanding their Indian counterparts to handover them at the least Pulenthiran, who was wanted on 34 counts. It was at that moment perhaps our Indian Army Officials began to realize gravity of the hatred between both Sinhalese and the Srilankan Tamils had against each other, and the ferocity of the war between the LTTE and the Srilankan army. But the time had run out. There are two versions that are coming out on this event: it seems J.N. Dixit instructed the Indian Army to handover the captured LTTE militants to the Srilankan Army, whereas the Diplomatic circles blame the Indian Army wanted to handover the captured LTTE Militants to Srilankan Army. Also it is learnt from the public literature that the IPKF chief wanted the instruction to come from New Delhi or the Indian Army Command

center for this specific operations in India, so that he can do so. Aside this request, even the IPKF Officials were seem to be not in knowledge of the capability of the highly motivated LTTE militants. The New Delhi understandably could not give instructions from its Office to handover the Militants to the Srilankan Army, and if it did so, it contravene the objectives of the IPKF force, and such an action could have grave public consequences in Tamil Nadu, and New Delhi did not want to be seen as insensitive to the people and the Government of Tamilnadu. So one might infer that, one of the highest offices of Government of India wanted Diplomat J N Dixit to convey the willingness of the Indian Government to handover the militants to Srilankan Government, one that would accede to India's Command.

In the meanwhile, the next day after the capture of the LTTE men, the LTTE Leadership team then requested for a meeting of their captive men with deputy Commander Mathaiah (alias Mahendra Rajah). None is sure about the exact details of what transpired during the meeting but it resulted in mass suicide of the LTTE men in the following hours as the Warlord thought the IPKF would hand over the team to the Srilankan Army. It is understood that LTTE militants would be carrying cyanide capsule around their neck and would consume the same in the event of being caught by the Srilankan forces. However during their captive state in the Palaly base the militants did not display such a tendency of a suicide. The militants' decision to suicide was after the meeting with their deputy Commander Mathaiah, who seemed to have instructed them for the mass suicide.

One should understand that the meeting of the militants held in captive state was acceded by the IPKF chief who seemed to have had a working relationship with the LTTE Chief.

The LTTE Chief Prabhakaran was in a rage at the turn of events that resulted in mass suicide of seventeen of his members and two important mid-ranking commanders. He was then certain that the Srilankan Government would continue with the colonization program and reopening of all the police stations in the Tamil areas, and the Indian Army, had been instructed not to halt the Srilankan Government's actions. **So he decided to halt the Srilankan Government's plan, and the only way available was to begin the battles with the Indian Peace Keeping Force.** He ordered his men to take on the IPKF to let it be known to them the motivation levels of the LTTE men. The LTTE cadres obeyed their commander and one of the bloodiest war for the Indian Army had begun. The Indian Peace-keeping Force neither had maps of the region they had to fight, nor the necessary weapons, nor the intelligent inputs from the region. The forces were given to understand that they may take just about 48 hours to capture the town of Jaffna; in reality it took several weeks to get the control of Jaffna, because of the limited power they were given to contain the militants. **It was a war neither parties wanted to wage and suffer and yet they had to endure. However, the Srilankan President who waiting for the turnaround of events in Srilanka involving the IPKF & LTTE, announced the world, "In the Boxing Ring, the referee India, jumped to fight his fight."**

When Prabhakaran engaged his men for the battle with IPKF, he knew that such a battle would not be good for him nor his men. However, he thought that allowing the IPKF and India's diplomats to engage with Srilankan Government in Srilankan Tamil affairs would be risky for the future of the Srilankan Tamils as the Indians wanted the Srilankan Tamils to accept whatever little is offered by the Srilankan Government. The self-appointed intelligent analyst brigade in India still contests that Prabhakaran would have anyway engaged in a war with IPKF. The author does not believe so; the author firmly believes if the Indian diplomats had understood the problem of the Srilankan Tamils and the belligerence of the Srilankan rulers (and Sinhalese hardliners) properly, a war with LTTE would have been definitely avoided, unless Indian Administration had guaranteed the Srilankan rulers to finish-off the LTTE then in the 1980s a far stretched hypothesis.

One more hypothesis was that, then in the bi-polar world, Srilanka was siding with US who had planned to have a Naval Base in Srilankan shores which is quite close to the India Borders. India was opposed to such a naval base close to the Indian border; however, India could do very little but to blink as it cannot match the US's financial generosity to Srilanka, if the deal should have concluded. At that point of time India seized the opportunity presented through the Srilankan Tamil problem of direct intervention in Srilanka, and so the Indo-Srilankan accord was signed obviating the US Naval Base in the shores near Srilanka, and so goes the argument. The Indian Intervention boosted

the opportunity for the Srilankan Government to wipe-off the Tamil Militancy that was never acknowledged by the Government of Srilanka.

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MGR Passed Away

As the war between the IPKF and the Tigers broke out there was huge emotional break down in Tamilnadu. The Chief Minister M.G.Ramachandran, the icon of Tamilnadu was mostly bedridden during the period of break-out of war and could do very little to stop the chaos and commotion. The Opposition party DMK, led by M.Karunanidhi though was supportive of the Srilankan Tamils could do very little to mitigate the surcharged commotion. Then, the DMK could not influence the Government of India in the policies towards Srilanka, but their party stalwart V.Gopalaswamy (Vaiko) was extremely vocal and untiring in his support for the LTTE in the Parliament. One should note that in the Parliament then ruling Party had a little more than 80% members with few more allies adding to their strength. The voice of the opposition was more or less missing in the Parliament except for a trio – V.Gopalaswamy (now Vaiko) of the DMK from Tamilnadu, V.Gurupadaswamy from Karnataka belonging to JD party (Janata Dal) and Goswami from AGP (Assam Gano Parishad) of Assam. The trio and the media led by Indian Express then Edited by Arun Shourie, were relentless in their attack against the functioning of the Government led by Rajiv Gandhi, and also its bleak policies which were highly criticized by the trio.

On 24th of December, 1987, a day before Christmas festivity, MGR, as fondly called by one and all passed away quietly leaving a huge void in the Tamilnadu political leadership that could exercise influence in the affairs of Srilankan Tamils.

The IPKF and the Tigers were engaged in a pitched battle though both the parties were not interested in the war. However, the internal situation for the Srilankan Government had improved a lot within a year of the LTTEIPKF war. The Srilankan Government was able to control another insurgent the JVP (Janata Vimukthi Perumina) as the Government of India took away the load of Srilankan Government.

Once the JVP was wiped out, the Srilankans wanted to be in charge of controlling the LTTE and primarily wanted Indians out of Srilanka.

The Srilankan Army, the Government, and perhaps the President J.R. Jayawardane, did not like the presence of the Indian Army in their soil and decided to play a different game. They began their game by helping the LTTE with their arms to fight the Indian Peace Keeping Force which enraged the Indians endlessly; the Indian Government and the India's diplomatic circles were watching the turn-around situation and the estrangement as a result of the culmination of a quite unexpected drama that was enacted under their very nose!

Meanwhile in Tamilnadu, after the death of MGR, the DMK was able to befriend the LTTE and vice-versa as the case turned out it. In the Tamilnadu regional elections the DMK marched to the power with M.Karunanidhi taking over as the mantle of Chief Minister. The fighting capabilities of the LTTE who were still in their early stages

were far stretched with a positive public opinion among the Tamils of Tamilnadu. The Party cadres of the DMK were encouraged to have the flag of LTTE in their vehicles along with the photos of Prabhakaran. Vaiko, who played the most important role in support of the Srilankan Tamils and as well also the Opposition member of the Parliament, became the torch bearer of the LTTE support in Tamilnadu though the veteran M.Karunanidhi was Party Chief and deciding authority. The younger generation of the DMK then in 1989 believed, Vaiko as the heir-apparent of the DMK, and M.Karunanidhi was on the verge of retirement. The support for the LTTE from the DMK was seen to be very boisterous and Vaiko made a clandestine trip to the jungles of Vanni, when the war between the IPKF and the LTTE was at its peak.

The tenure of the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi came to an end in 1989 and the India went to the Polls.



The Five year period of Congress rule between 1984–89 with Rajiv Gandhi as Prime Minister, saw many changes in India. Notwithstanding major visible changes in the Telecom Industry, no major economic reforms were initiated and the left oriented policies of the Government began to drag India. Corruption ruled all over the places - high and low. The Opposition parties under then Mulayam Singh Yadav and Laalu Yadav, along with V.P. Singh and Devi Lal, and Left Front Parties fought the elections unitedly to defeat Congress Party. They promised implementation of Mandal Commission

recommendations to reserve a specific quota in Government Jobs and Educational Institutions for some of the Caste groups in India defined as Backward Class. More details on the same would be discussed in the next chapter.

However, it was BJP that gained a lot in that elections in 1989 as the number of seats won by the Party went to 86 from 2 seats in the previous term of the Parliament. The Party, BJP, came out on Hindu Card, but wanted to establish itself as an alternative to Congress - perhaps as right of Centre.

The Coalition of Opposition parties led by Janata Dal fought the elections together with the identity as National Front and won enough seats to form the Government with the support of Left Parties and the BJP. However, since the BJP and the Left Parties fought against each other, both of them did not join the council of Ministers. V.P.Singh was chosen as the Prime Minister and he took over the helm.



The role of IPKF in Srilanka was causing immense damage to the credibility of the India's External Policy, and the death of more than 1000 soldiers from India's defence forces enraged everyone concerned. In addition to the war, the Srilankan Government that invited Indian Peace Keeping Force to the Island, wanted to send them back to India, as the positioning of IPKF in Srilanka was inferred as a transgression into a Sovereign State called Srilanka.

The new Government under V.P.Singh wanted to recall the IPKF from

Srilanka. The Cabinet Secretary T.N.Seshan responded to the situation by initiating a detailed study of occupying the Srilanka's Tamil territories by IPKF. To serve this study, he enlisted an official from the Indian Police Services D.R.Karthikeyan, who had the requisite knowledge on nuances of the Foreign affairs of the country. Then the immediate task of the Karthikeyan was to advise the Government of India whether to continue the IPKF operations in the Island Nation; the opinion of the Srilankan Tamils and the Srilankan Government were the chief concerns for the Government of India. Karthikeyan travelled across the length and breadth of the Srilankan Tamil region and quizzed many about the efficacy of the occupation of the Indian Peace Keeping Force. There was also a threat that post the withdrawal of the IPKF, fresh hostilities might erupt leading to a fresh wave of refugees into India from Srilanka. The Tamilnadu Government and the people of Tamilnadu might again resort to intense demands for protecting the Srilankan Tamils by arresting the invading Srilankan army if any were to arise.

D.R.Karthikeyan submitted his report and the Government of India started withdrawing the Indian Peace Keeping Force from Srilanka. A new chapter of violence broke out in Srilanka and the LTTE grew as the most dominant force in the battlefields over the years to come. Post the withdrawal of IPKF from India, the other militant groups, who were supportive to the IPKF operations, fled to India fearing a backlash from the LTTE.

Post the pull out of IPKF, the impact of the Srilankan Tamil problem

slowly began disappearing in the day to day conversations of the younger generation in Tamilnadu, as the technology seemed to shaping up well and throwing opportunities in new age Industry, that is, Telecom and Software.

However, the internecine war among the Tamil militants of Srilanka had spilled over to India and the LTTE's target was the leader of EPRLF, Padmanabha, who was staying in Chennai, under the protection of Indian Government. The readers may recall that when the Indian Government intervened in Srilanka initiating a peace process, other than the LTTE (and EROS), rest of the Organizations including EPRLF, supported Indian presence and the initiatives from Indian Government. In 1988, an interim Administration was set-up in Northern and Eastern provinces of Srilanka with Varadharaja Perumal of EPRLF being made as the Chief Minister. When the IPKF left the Srilankan shores, the Indian Government gave protection to some of the anti-LTTE leaders including Varadharaja Perumal and Padmanabha, and brought them to India and provided them a sanctuary. For Prabhakaran, supporting the Indian initiative meant giving up the demand of an Independent Nation, Tamil Eelam; according to him, Independence from Srilanka would be the only solution for the problems of the Tamils in the Island nation.

So the killing was planned and Padmanaba, who was in Chennai, was executed perhaps with the inputs or assistance of locals. The murder case proved to be major blot on DMK as they being the ruling party of the Tamilnadu; whereas in public the DMK maintained that

there was no support for the LTTE and its violent methods, the murder of Padmanabha proved to be pointing to different scenario. According to unconfirmed reports that largely went unnoticed was that, both Padmanabha and Varadharajaperumal had helped V.Prabhakaran in the early 1980s, during his exile from LTTE, until he won back his men from Uma Maheswaran. It proves that for Prabhakaran, the targets are always the ones who act against the formation of Tamil Eelam, rather than any personal favour or enmity of the individuals.



The Indian political scenario was tumultuous as the economic growth was stagnating and opportunities for the youth were limited. In the middle-east of Asia, a new threat emerged as the Iraqi Leader Saddam Hussein had sent his troops to Kuwait and captured it. The United States responded to the request from Kuwait and sent their troops to liberate Kuwait from the Iraqi occupation. A huge tension mounted up in Middle-East which resulted in shooting up of the Oil prices; as India depended largely on imports for domestic Oil requirements, the Oil bill shot up leading to serious Forex Crisis that triggered a series of crisis within various Industries. The economy was heading to be in shambles as the Forex Reserves were wiped out.

The Government led by V.P. Singh, could last not more than 11 months; during his term, he implemented Mandal Commission recommendations and thereby expanding Educational and Economic Opportunities for less privileged sections of the society. However, BJP

withdrew their support to V.P.Singh Government as their Party Chief L.K. Advani was arrested by the Government, when BJP went very vocal with Ram Janma Bhoomi movement in 1990.

Chandrasekhar, a splinter group of V.P.Singh's Janata Dal, then formed the next Government with the help of Congress Party.

The new National Government, immediately dismissed the Tamilnadu Government headed by M.Karunanidhi citing worsening law and order situation in Tamilnadu. One should note that, in the Indian Parliamentary democracy, it was customary for the National Government to call for inquiry with Governor of Tamilnadu and to dismiss the State Government. However, in this case, then Tamilnadu Governor Barnala refused to give such a report, citing there were no breakdown of Law & Order. One of the major accusations against then DMK Government was being very close to the LTTE to the extent of supporting their activities in Tamilnadu even though the organization had been fighting against the Indian Peace Keeping Force.

Gulf War, depleted Forex Reserves, challenges of generating employment for young population were serious challenges for the new Government. Within few weeks of forming the Government the new Prime Minister Chandrasekhar initiated a series of economic reforms. To tide over the crisis affecting the necessary Foreign exchange, the Government bartered the Gold reserves of India and raised the Foreign Exchange to meet the critical imports. However, the Government lasted only for a few weeks and India went to Polls again in June' 1991.

India Begins its March

The later years of 1980s and early 1990s proved to be a transformational era for the people India as it laid the foundation of bright future for millions of young men and women. It was an era which opened floodgates for massive economic expansion of the country from early 1990s till today. Rajendra S Pawar along with Vijay K Thandani promoted a computer training institute in India the 'National Institute of Information Technology' or popularly NIIT; the institution taught software programming, design, testing and delivery of the software with a tag line known as *'if you are not studying in NIIT, you are missing something.'* The key part of the business model was to open it as a franchise all over India; the model gave access to millions of young Indians to build basic and advanced IT skills in their areas of interest and career. Though the same business model was followed by various other training institutions in the later years, nothing ever matched the success story of NIIT that aided the growth of India's middle class.

A decade earlier, F.C. Kohli, known as Father of Indian Software Industry established Tata Consultancy Services Limited, presently distinguished as one of the most respected Organization across the Globe. During the 1980s and 1990s, more Information Technology

giants like HCL, Infosys, Cognizant technologies began dotting the Indian IT horizon; the wave also created a number of smaller IT companies sprouting across the country aiding in massive expansion of the Indian Economy. Significantly, the Indian IT Leadership pursued their IT business model to serve their customers where a large scale employment opportunities would be available, than any 'breakthrough Technology' concept. This business model served the country's need in great many number of ways and so the Government allowed tax holidays and a number of concessions for the IT Industry as a whole. At one stroke, it gave opportunities to millions in IT Sector in India and simultaneously, it allowed the other businesses like travel industry and tourism to flourish and crucially bringing in Foreign Currency earnings for India's imports.

The 'Y2K problem' or the Year 2000 problem forced most of the companies across the world to recruit large number of computer programmers; it was during this period the world's attention turned to Indian Computer engineers for the decades to come. There was a parallel and similar silent revolution happening in Telecom sector which became an adjunct Industry in some sense for the IT Industry. The telecom revolution, initiated by Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who handpicked Sam Pitroda, in the 1980s changed the Indian Communication landscape. The result was, the Government controlled monopoly in telephone gave way to private small commercial owners, who through their small shops helped India to connect between all cities and towns in a seamless manner. An explosion in business

communication opened up possibilities for all the small manufacturers, dealers, retailers and the end consumers, connect in the quickest possible way, and expand their businesses over the next decade and into the new Millennium. The stumbling block for the business – access to telephone communication, was sent to smithereens. Fortuitously, it created a new Industry as IT enabled services or Business Processing Services enabling business across the country to cut costs for their counterparts across the world. By early 1990s though the growth enablers were apparently present, it was the Political wisdom of the Indian Prime Minister PV Narasimha Rao that helped India to take off on a high trajectory growth path which would never be reversed. He ensured the priorities of Indian people rather than any ideological priorities of Organizations, Individuals or the Political Parties should take precedence for Governance of India.



The late 1980s and early 1990s was also an era where underprivileged sections of India rose and voiced their concerns through ballot boxes, rallies and political demonstrations to rulers of India that they form a majority in India but live without economic opportunities. The Government of India, appointed Mr. Mandal as chairman of the commission, to look into grievances of the socially backward caste groups in India and recommend ways and means of addressing those concerns. Mr. Mandal came out with a recommendation of reserving 27% jobs for the OBCs (Other Backward Communities) in Government and Public sector organizations. The number 27% is to ensure that the

percentage of jobs under the reserved category, do not exceed 50% as per the constitutional mandate, as the existing reservation for the Dalits was totaling 22% of jobs. It came as a boon for the OBC candidates who were not able to move up in the social ladder as middle-class. This left Upper Caste Hindus agitated and there were numerous suicides, and attempts of suicide by young men and women who were otherwise eligible for those jobs purely on merit.

The Politicians across the country and especially in UP and Bihar stood as the Vanguard at the rise of OBCs movement as the State and the Central government introduced the reservation policy as recommended by the Mandal Commission.

During the tumultuous period of the agitation in 1989 after the implementation of Mandal Commission recommendation, the Government remained as a mute spectator to scores of suicides of young Indians and did not bother much to stay in power. Their supporters in the Parliament, the BJP, the political avatar of Sangh Parivar was demanding building Ram Temple in Ayodhya at the birthplace of Lord Ram where a Masjid stood on the day. The BJP which had a two member representation in Parliament at the 1984 elections picked up huge electoral gains on the issues such as building Ram Temple and more appropriately used the Hindu Card widely to gain Political foothold in the Parliament and over the next decade.

Though the Mandal implementation served an important purpose to the society the attitude of the Government beyond the implementation was sickening. It was the period when the Government's efforts were

most needed in the defining of economic priorities than ideological priorities of the society as the booming population can be a serious threat to establishment if its basic requirements are not addressed. But the Government under V.P. Singh, a man who initially became more popular because of his economic policy – Modified Value Added Tax, without a majority in the Government could do nothing. His successor Mr. Chandrasekhar, did a cameo role in redefining economic policy of India; he had quietly redefined the definitions of Small-scale sector that helped a number of companies becoming eligible for more loans from banks for their Capital and Working capital requirements. Also the Prime Minister Chandrasekhar and his team worked closely with IMF & World Bank during the Forex Crisis in India in early 1991 had chartered a course for India's liberalized economic regime.

However then India's major Political parties Congress and BJP were directly locked against each other in with a vote bank politics. The 1990 was a period when Communist China moved towards liberalized economic regimen after murdering ten thousand students in a single moment in Tiananmen Square to quell the uprising of Democracy. Their Leader Deng Zia Pong announced a new move in a communist regimen with a Slogan 'Colour of the Cat white or black is not important so long as it catches Mice.' Though the entire world began to understand and appreciate the benefits of open economy and democracy, not everyone was convinced that their respective countries were ready for such an experiment.

Notwithstanding the political instability, India powered by a young

population with technical qualification in Information Technology discipline was poised for a huge growth that just needed policy push from the Government which were to happen shortly after May'1991.

Institutionalization of Indian Democracy

The Governance structure of India that includes Legislative, Executive and Judiciary wings have distinct Character, Patronage and Professional Pride. Though the high offices of the Executive and the Judiciary are chosen by the Political Masters in the Legislature or State Assembly, the initial recruitment, mentoring, growth path are left to be guided within the Institutions themselves. The IAS/IPS/IFS officers generally rise to occupy the highest echelons of the various Ministries, District Administration, Fiscal & Economic Policy making arms of the Government that decides upon the policies for Industry, Trade & Commerce of the Land and also Intelligence agencies. These apart, Election Commission of India and other adjunct arms of the Government which are Constitutional and Statutory bodies consistently draw officers from the Civil Service, who owe nothing to their Political Masters in the Legislature. However, the assertiveness of the Indian Civil Service had always been in the scrutiny of the Indian Public for a very long time, due to corruption and nepotism at the very highest levels of the administration.

One man from Kerala almost shook the very foundation of the arrogance of the Political Masters in 1991 General Election of the

country. Prior to this, there were numerous instances where the Indian Civil Service officers took the task against the Political masters but could do nothing that consistently challenged the Political Class. T.N.Seshan from the Palghat region of Kerala, born in a Tamil speaking Brahmin family, rose to the highest administrative office of India as Cabinet Secretary during 1989. It was a very trying moment of the Indian Civil Service officers as the country was witnessing multiple challenges from within and Outside, and major supporter of India the Soviet Union was disintegrating, beginning an era of Unipolar world.

T.N.Seshan though had a tough going as a Cabinet Secretary found his feet when he was elevated as the Election Commissioner of India (then in 1991 India had only one Election Commissioner) in his next assignment. In 1990, when the technology was rudimentary compared to early 21st century it was difficult for the Administrators to check the Election Malpractices, that includes – impersonation, identity theft of the voters, booth capturing by thugs in the problem areas and rampant corruption during the Elections. The role of the Election Commissioner being an apolitical one that he cannot be transferred from the job and he could only be impeached by a Presidential Mandate. Asserting his Independence from the Politicians, the tough task master dismissed any thought of leniency to the erring Politicians of all Political Parties and imposed Model Code of Conduct for all the Politicians during the General Elections held in May, 1991. He would countermand the election in a Constituency immediately at any instance of violation of the Model code of Conduct by the Politicians. The Politicians then

began exercising caution, and avoided any serious flip from the agreed code of Conduct during the elections. As the Television Channels reached out to the length and breadth of rural & urban India, the Election Commission as a watchful Independent Constitutional body during the Elections earned appreciation and support from all sections of the society. T.N.Seshan was a star among the Indian Public who began to have more faith in the conduct of the officials and the Civil Service Administration. However, T.N.Seshan was not the first (though the tallest) who earned this recognition but it started with many including Bhure Lal, Director of Enforcement Directorate during the late 1980s.

A notable Civil Servant Bhure Lal, coming from a modest family representing a conservative honest Indian Middle Class, wanted to see our country progress as a developed Nation devoid of all ills corruption, nepotism, political and corporate scandals. Post the 1970s, when the world moved away from Gold standards and the Western currencies gained the status as reserve currency, India's trade balance or lack of it came into mainstream political and economic decisions. With PM Indira Gandhi following left-oriented policies, money to import Capital Goods and Oil was hard to come by; the Government of India regulated holdings and spending of foreign currency by both the Individuals and the Corporate. At that point of time two important legislations were passed aimed at preserving the important resource for Foreign Trade; COFEPOSA (Conservation of Foreign Exchange and Prevention of Smuggling Activities Act) and FERA (Foreign Exchange

Regulation Act) each dealing with the requisite areas of the legislative requirements.

During his tenure in the Enforcement directorate of Government of India, that was responsible investigating Foreign Exchange Violations and under-invoicing by the Corporates, Bhure Lal followed a very rigorous routine and filed charges against all erring Corporates for the Forex Violations. When he took over as the Director of Enforcement Directorate, the total number of cases by the Directorate was only less than 5000, but increased to 21000 in a short period, when the team of 600 officials in the Enforcement Directorate were relentless in pursuit of offending Corporates, with respect to the provisions of the Foreign Exchange. V.P.Singh, who was then the Finance Minister, and V.C.Pande, who was then the Finance Secretary, were very supportive of the actions of the Enforcement Directorate. V.P.Singh, was moved out from the Finance Ministry and was shunted to Defense Ministry. This did not stop Bhure Lal from investigating financial irregularities in the Government. During V.P. Singh's tenure in the Defense Ministry, he opened the Pandora's Box – Bofors Scandal, the scandal involving payment of Kickbacks while purchasing guns from a French firm for Indian Army. Once again it was Bhure Lal's team that unearthed the payment made to middle-men in the purchase of the Guns. The Political Masters of the highest offices in India were in jitters and in the middle of a night, the Director of the Enforcement Directorate, Bhure Lal, was pushed out of the Directorate which proved the nexus of Political and Corporate corruption at the highest order prevalent

during that time. It was reported that some of the leading Corporates were among the worst affected where the investigations revealed under-invoicing, violation of the Foreign Exchange Regulation Act, etc. However, the knockout punch was the investigation that unearthed the kickbacks paid in the Purchase of Bofors Gun. The investigations nailed the involvement of the agent (middleman) Fairfax, and finally that brought down the Rajiv Gandhi Government and the Congress Party from power, and eliminated their Unipolar role in the Indian Politics.

The Institutionalization of the democracy that was gaining ascendance in the Governance transformed the Indian Political scene. This phenomena (Institutionalization of democracy) is a hallmark of any great nation as it builds inherent strength, to wade through, any and every serious crisis that erupts internally or through external sources of a nation. This phenomena, helped India to transform itself for a better future, despite going through an extremely difficult period between 1989–92 internally and externally - as caste, religious and regional divide with multiple insurgent groups were threatening to plunge the nation into chaos and years of uncertainty. The Nations that underwent politically turbulent times during 1989–92, took many years to recover and re-establish peace and prosperity in their respective regions, except for India. However, the two other movements, aggressive Hindutva movement led by BJP and consolidation of the Other Backward Caste groups in the power structure almost left no space for a credible centrist political force to emerge in India. These

internal developments along with a unipolar world was shaping the economic and foreign policies of the country; India, then had to march ahead, post the disintegration of Soviet Union that threw multiple options for the Indians to think through, to assimilate, and adapt for the future.

For the unassuming minds the Institutionalization of the democracy meant not many things, but for the growing young Indians (including Tamils of India) of that period, the opportunities that came in the way was phenomenal; and it sure enough to wean away their thoughts from the Srilankan Tamils, who by that time, through a buoyant entity called LTTE, made the Srilankans and their Government along with the rest of the world to sit up and watch them. This additional comfort took many of the young Indian Tamils of that period, to look at their expanding economic and higher educational opportunities and explore, than being preoccupied with their minds in the Srilankan battlefields.

However, post 2009 mayhem in Mullivaikal, Srilanka, a generation of Indian Tamils who were in pursuit of economic goals, and therefore being labelled as professionally successful middle-class, are slowly waking up to understand the current situation of their folks in Srilanka. The process of these minds to turn towards Srilankan Tamils may be slow, but a sure one, that would in future tilt the balance decisively in favour of the Srilankan Tamils, if justice for the Srilankan Tamils continue to elude.

A Horrendous Crime in the Soil of Tamilnadu

Late 1980s, and early 1990s were tumultuous period across the world with political uncertainties in Communist Countries and also in those countries that had multi-ethnic groups living together in a single Nation-State (Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia). Indian Politics echoed instability and subtle similarity (though reality was different), due to many insurgent groups and instable National Governments of India, those could not retain their majority in Parliament and therefore lost power twice in quick succession. The Indian public did not like such a fall in quick succession as it had necessitated General elections for the Parliament costing a fortune for the exchequer. In the same period, the impact of Gulf War was quite serious due to high Oil prices as the supply was squeezed.

A section of people in those days believed that the Governments headed by non-Nehru family member would not be stable, and could never be able to complete a full-term of the Parliament. Some other views were much narrower due to diversity of the country. Arguably the political environment of India at that period that during 1980s faced numerous challenges in Kashmir, Punjab, Assam, North-Eastern Border States. However, the contrarians did not lose sight of the

progress of the Institutions in India and so were willing to hold a different view. Still, the evidence was lacking to pass such a test, though the BJP was then growing as a national party with an all-India reach, and good enough to hold the country together in some ways or means.

The International political theater was very fluid during the years from 1988 to 92 saw too many political upheavals across the continents. Many Nations that were under the subjugation of a bigger Nation-State liberated themselves and came into existence as Independent Nation-States. The general mood of the 1990s was, the countries with multiple nationalities tended to disintegrate. The reasons to feel so were strengthened by the disintegration of Soviet Union which was held together by iron-curtain, and disintegration of Czechoslovakia due to presence of multiple nationalities in a Nation-State.

The Srilankan Tamil community and the LTTE were keenly observing these events, and also a very fluid political situation in India as a result of assertive caste and religious groups that portrayed a divided society (an untrue picture). The International political currents and the Indian political currents showed vague similarities, and this emboldened the LTTE to press harder for the Independent Tamil Eelam.

To ensure the same, the LTTE wanted to eliminate every serious threat to their Goal of Independent Tamil Eelam. They belived that Rajiv Gandhi was one such threat, bigger than any other threat in the region.

There was nonetheless an instance where two countries united to

become single geo-political entity, Germany. Though many questioned the economic viability of such a unification between a democratic West Germany and an Iron-clad East Germany, over the time, reality prevailed as the common web of shared identity of the people held them together irrespective of their disparate socio-economic status.

To summarize the situation of the early 1990s, the political theater of the world had become unipolar, the Governments of communists countries were becoming unstable, that led to redrawing of the world political map every now and then. LTTE also believed that they could redraw the map of Srilanka and decided to execute their plan of eliminating their biggest threat to formation of Independent Tamil Eelam.

It was May 1991 and election time in India; the Congress party under Rajiv Gandhi and Ms.Jayalalitha of AIADMK party had formed a political alliance to face the elections in Tamilnadu. The voters of the Tamilnadu were to vote for both the National Parliament and the State Assembly simultaneously. With the stakes being very high for both Congress and the AIADMK, they left no stone unturned and together faced the elections, with an agreed formulae to contest in certain number of seats for both Parliament and the State Assembly.

Rajiv Gandhi then ex-Prime Minister of India faced immense threat from militants of Punjab and was guarded by a Special Commando Force. In New Delhi and in many other parts of India Rajiv Gandhi was never allowed to get along with the public by his Security advisors. But in Tamilnadu as there was absolutely no Security threat believed to

have existed, he chose to be identified with the public without any hiccups.

Earlier, when he was the Prime Minister of India till 1989, he had made a number of visits to the southern state, Tamilnadu. It was after the then Chief Minister of Tamilnadu, MGR, passed away in dec' 1987, the state elections were to be scheduled in Jan' 1989. The lag in the schedule for the elections was also a tactical one for the Congress Party. The Congress Party, which was out of power in Tamilnadu from the year 1967, wanted to make use of the opportunity and made a serious attempt to clinch the power from the Dravidian Parties, DMK and ADMK. Due to this attempt, the Tamilnadu state elections experienced a high decibel campaign, and the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi led from the front for the Congress Party. He made thirteen visits in a span of eleven months, despite carrying the responsibility of a diverse nation as its Prime Minister.

The readers may note that these attempts to bring back the Congress Party back to power which was on the downhill allover India then was an attempt to regain its image. However the attempt which proved to be a futile one, was made when the IPKF was fighting the war with the Tamil Millitants in Srilanka, a decision that was not so popular among the Tamils of Tamilnadu. However at a personal level, people of Tamilnadu, loved him.

He also loved the people as he was able to freely move in the roads without any major security worries and he was liked by the public as a charismatic person. Though the people of Tamilnadu loved him, they

never preferred to vote his party to power in the State. The frequency of his visits to Tamilnadu was caricatured in one of the popular Tamil magazine *Ananda Vikatan* in 1988, wherein a Tamil man would try to wake his son up in the morning to have a word with an VIP who happened to visit their home; the son would retort and tell his father not to disturb his sleep as he is aware that the VIP was none other than the Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi who frequents regularly to their homes and neighborhood!! Elsewhere in India, an iron curtain would be preventing any attempt by a common man to go near to the Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India! Such was the comfort Rajiv Gandhi had while coming to Tamilnadu and he never had to face the hassles of the raised Security Parameters. His enemies did not fail to notice that routine and were eager to use the opportunity at an appropriate time.

On a summer day, 21st of may, 1991, when the Sun had set, birds had gone back to their nests, most people were in their bed, some souls remained wide awake to welcome the India's most important man, Rajiv Gandhi, who was their former Prime Minister for a public meeting to be held after 10pm. In those days, Election Commission in India, did not impose any restrictions for a public meeting to be held after 10pm during the election time. The meeting was to be held near Sriperumpudur, a town near Chennai, a Constituency where a local Congress Party leader Maragatham Chandrasekhar, was contesting for the Parliamentary election.

The Congress Leader stepped in the ground from the helicopter which brought him, greeting the people and thanking for their

presence. The Police team led by R.K.Raghavan (then IG of Police, TN) closely monitored the crowd to spot any suspicious movements. As it was then a normal course for Rajiv Gandhi to freely mix with people, of Tamilnadu, the political leaders including G.K.Moopanar, perhaps the most committed friend and loyalist of Nehru family, stayed slightly away from the proceedings to help the Congress party's image that would go up, if its Leader remained in close proximity with the commoners.

The killers who were later identified and proved as the men from the LTTE, commanded by Warlord V.Prabhakaran. The assassination of squad of the LTTE, who were present in public meeting went very close to Rajiv Gandhi on the pretext of garlanding the Leader. As their physical identities were similar to the locals their access to the Indian Leader was seamless. An unusual explosion ripped, killing several Policemen and India's former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, leaving the dead bodies in severely damaged condition. Immediately, R.K.Raghavan, an India Police Service Officer, serving at the site, took charge of the situation and ensured evidences would never be tampered with. The care taker Prime Minister Chandrasekhar summoned India's best police brains, and checked about the potential candidates who could unravel the mystery of the death of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and lead the Investigation Team in pursuit of his killers; the team was named as Special Investigation Team, and the head of the Team was given full powers to conduct the inquiry. Soon it was concluded the best available candidate then was

D.R.Karthikeyan, who was serving as head of Central Reserve Police Force of India (CRPF). The critical choice was made as D.R.Karthikeyan was someone who had the knowledge about the potential killers of Rajiv Gandhi, the LTTE, from his earlier assignments in Srilanka and additionally, Tamil being his native tongue. Paradoxically, a request came from D.R.Karthikeyan that he could accept this position only if he was allowed to continue his role in CRPF. To the Government of India, the request was just a Paradox as it meant more responsibilities to the man in the middle of world's most gruesome murder, and so agreed to the request. The Special Investigation Team (SIT) was formed and D.R.Karthikeyan flew down to Chennai to take up his role with some handpicked brilliant minds including Mr.Ragothaman. The team analysed and proved that Rajiv Gandhi was killed by human bomb who was later identified as Thanu from Srilanka. The details of how the SIT Chief solved the puzzle is a brilliant story on its own, and I would recommend the readers to read the book written by D.R.Karthikeyan himself post his retirement. Apart from the SIT Team, the Government appointed two more commissions of enquiry to study the killing of Rajiv Gandhi – Justice Verma Commission to study the Security Lapses that led to the assassination, and Justice Jain Commission to study the Conspiracy angle of the killing of Rajiv Gandhi.

Verma Commission, appointed by the Government of India to probe Security Lapses that led to the assassination of the then former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, concluded that the intelligence wings of the Government of India, Research Analysis Wing (RAW) and the

Intelligence Bureau (IB), did not provide adequate information about the threat to life of Rajiv Gandhi to the Government of Tamilnadu, that was under President's Rule. Verma Commission's indictment on the IB and RAW was very severe, while many Officers were outraged at the audacity of the LTTE to target their National Leader without any remorse as some of the LTTE boys were trained by the Indians. Worse, the RAW Officers believed that they had a mole in the LTTE, as Kittu alias Krishnakumar who was in the payrolls of RAW as an insider.

India Unbound Under PVNR

The Assassination of former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, during the election campaign completely demoralized the nation. India surviving difficult times under a non-Nehru clan was to be put to test under the new leadership that would emerge from the Congress party. The party had then half-a-dozen stalwarts who were known across India, chiefly, Sharad Pawar, the Chief Minister of Maharashtra, Arjun Singh, ND Tiwari, Pranab Mukerjee, Madavrao Scindia and few others. Narasimha Rao, who had been India's Foreign Affairs Minister, was the least known among the party circles within the country was chosen as a compromise candidate, to become the Prime Minister because of rivalry among the above. He took over as the Prime Minister of India and appointed former Governor of Reserve Bank of India (India's Central Bank), Dr. Manmohan Singh as the Finance Minister. Then, in 1991, conveniently for P.V.Narasimha Rao, the general feeling in India was after Prime Minister, Home Ministry is the most important Cabinet Position followed by the Defense Ministry. Since the clamor for Finance Ministry was least of the concern for the politicians of that period, it was easy for the Prime Minister to make this move. The Harvard Educated Finance Minister swiftly called the shots in the making of Economic and Fiscal Policies without any resistance,

thereby, altering the course of Indian Renaissance forever; in this achievement, it is quoted that he was supported by another colleague from Commerce Ministry, P. Chidambaram, who re-wrote India's Export-Import legislation in less than a day, aiding the efforts of the Finance Minister yielding spectacular results over the years.

When the United States' President George Bush Sr. sent his troops to reclaim Kuwait from its aggressor Saddam Hussein, the Iraqi President who wanted to assert his regional supremacy felt jolted. War clouds in the Middle-East cast its long dark shadow in the region resulting in rise of Oil prices. It had a serious repercussions in India as the prices of Oil in USD shot up too high for India to afford import of Oil. When the import of Oil was affected it had its ripple effects in the economy with higher inflation, depleted Foreign Exchange reserves, high import cost for Technology and Capital, impacting all the way down to freeze the common man travelling in public transport and supplies of essentials in every region being hit.

People who needed medical attention, young poor students and all others who could not afford beyond public transport were terribly shaken. They were not sure what would happen if the Oil for the Country's need cannot be met by imports, because it may result in shutting down some businesses, lay-offs in some factories as a result of domino effect of oil crisis. Adding to the burden was increase in cost of food, and higher costs meant lesser food for the growing young population.

The new Government under P. V. Narasimha Rao (PVNR) understood

the problem in every spot and immediately responded by devaluing the rupee for nearly 40%; what did it mean? Simply, the cost of purchasing one USD dollar went up for all Indians including the Government. It meant the Government was acknowledging its external reliance on Oil for its consumption too heavily and thereby willing to pay a higher price for a scarce commodity. It does not mean that the Nation that devalues its own currency is always at a loss, because simultaneously the exports are becoming cheaper for the importing country which acts as a counter-effect. In addition to devaluation of currency, India liberalized its export policy, thereby allowing the locals, to export more to earn more foreign currency. The then Commerce Minister P. Chidambaram having come from a family that owned a large conglomerate of businesses, understood the nuances of the export driven growth for the economy and responded smartly by legislative measures for the benefit of the nation. It was his legislative untangling efforts that won India the day and chartered a new path of higher economic growth, which forever is the Mantra of all the parties – left, right and center.

Once the immediate attention of the economy been taken care by the professional Ministers in his Cabinet, PVNR lost no time in taking control of the Congress Party that ruled India for most part of period since Independence.

Since 1980s, when the Sikh militants were fighting for a separate homeland called Khalistan, the commoners among the Sikhs suffered intolerable bias in India. The elevation of Manmohan Singh to the

premier role in rescuing the economy largely assuaged the feelings of the community, and the elusive peace was returning with the exception of the pockets of areas of unrest in specific regions including the Northeastern states. However, most of the insurgent movements were controlled with strict enforcement of law and order, though more importantly economic opportunities that came along with the liberalized business laws that paid handsome dividends in all regions.

Luckily for the Prime Minister, 1990s was a Telecom age; earlier, India under Rajiv Gandhi had sown all the necessary seeds for reaping the benefits of Telecom revolution, which helped the Trade and commerce to leapfrog in India. Sam Pitroda, the blue-eyed boy of Rajiv Gandhi redefined India's Telecom capability that became the Platform for a new Industry – Business Process Outsourcing – to grow in India. This Industry later opened up job opportunities for tens of thousands of young men and women in the country. As the young Indians are familiar with English language and also technically qualified, many documentation works and software programming were electronically transported to India, and after additional processing or documentation, these were exported back to their Origination saving costs to Western business enterprises, in millions of USD. It was a time when the large number of middle class Indians aiming for a prosperous future sent their children to colleges which were relatively cheaper to afford in India. Then suddenly, the technical and engineering education in India became an instant passport to prosperous life. The Engineers who graduated in the middle of 1980s

could not position themselves well whereas their juniors in 1990s were cynosure of all eyes.

The results of the economic policy had all-round effects across the country. Economic opportunities opened up for millions of Indians both skilled and semi-skilled. It began to have cascading effects on a large scale, to multiple sectors of the economy – textiles, food industry, agricultural produce, tourism, vocational training, training institutions in Educational sectors, transport, private vehicles, stock markets and finally the real estate boom all forming another chain, triggering massive economic expansion benefitting a very large section of the population.

It was not all green. Every new wave would bring out a villain and at this time the villain came from the Stock-Broking fraternity of Bombay Stock Exchange that was founded by a small group of Parsi traders in 1873. Ever since its inception, which was under a tree during the British raj, the Stock exchange had been the hub of the business community that needed capital, also providing liquidity to investing communities. The growth from that age till 1992 was more than spectacular, as it stood on the 28 storied building (Jeejeeboy Towers), where enterprising merchant communities, primarily Gujratis made it as an epicenter of India's business houses. Dhirubai Ambani who started as an ordinary textile merchant, grew to become textile manufacturing giant, still moved along the value chain to manufacture polymers, and then to establish refineries, and finally to all the way to Oil drilling, was adored as a Visionary Business Leader from Mumbai. He had a Global Vision

for his business empire and had always raised Capital from this prestigious Stock exchange, multiple times, whenever he needed for the new venture. The small investments made by the investing public returned handsomely for years. The return on stock investments when known to public triggered a new kind of greed when already Bank Deposits was earning more than 12% annual returns. The new villains were many, but chiefly the one who caught the public eye was Harshad Mehta. Though the stock market returns were princely it did not till the middle of 1992 had a regulator, and so the ruling class could not act swiftly to stop the massive scam that affected thousands of investors including some millionaires who ended up committing suicide. The Government of India then under the Statesman swiftly responded to the situation; a regulatory body, SEBI, Securities Exchange Board of India, was set up who would oversee the functioning of Primary and Secondary Capital Markets, but the scams continued as in other parts of Market economies.

Still, India could respond to each one of them though on a reactionary basis; however, the Global Investors took notice of India's ascendancy as its regulator SEBI came up with a series of ordinances, guidelines for Investment in Capital Markets and also allowed Foreign Portfolio Investors in addition to FDI , Foreign Direct Investment. For the first time after nearly 250 years, India was catching up with the developed economies with right business environment.

The Statesman PV Narasimha Rao knew that the world, especially the Western Nations, and particularly the United States, is closely

following transitory phase of the Indian economy, its society and its political course. But he knew that it was still not enough to engage the world powers on an equal basis on the International Platform and waited for an opportunity to teach them Wisdom of Chanakya which were to happen later in Kashmir in Dec 1993 and his speech in the US Congress in 1994 (but these are beyond the scope of this book).

First Battle of Elephant Passe

Blood stains of killing Rajiv Gandhi, former Prime Minister of India, was still in the air in India and in Srilanka, but the important tasks of establishing a homeland was the only thing in the mind of the Warlord. The hound of D.R.Karthikeyan, Head of Special Investigating Officer, should have been heard in woods of Mullaitivu, home of the warlord but that did not deter him chasing his goal of an independent homeland for the Tamils of Srilanka.

Jaffna (or Yazhpanaam in Tamil) has remained as the cultural Capital of Tamils of Srilankan Origin for ages. The Jaffna Fort that was built in 1776 by the Dutch may be serving as garrison for the Srilankan Military, but the islanders know that it also represents the symbol of power whosoever controls it. The Tamil Kings of Jaffna and their descendants today do not live in the Fort, and have no qualms over that. Holding power in Jaffna meant lording over the Tamils of Srilanka and the Fort being occupied by the Srilankan Army was not to the Tamils' liking. Unseating the Army would be the major victory for the LTTE and the Warlord planned it.

The importance of Jaffna Fort besides the history is, it connects to the mainland from the Jaffna Island, and acts as an important source of Transportation for all, including the Army and the Srilankan

Government. Had the LTTE captured the Jaffna Fort, the SL Government or the Army had to approach Jaffna either by air or sea, and movement through land would not be possible. The importance of the Jaffna Fort is well understood by both the SL Government and the LTTE; but the plan and timing of the attack on the Fort, barely two months after assassination of Rajiv Gandhi in Chennai, made the intentions of the Prabhakaran very clear. Mahttayya, the deputy Commander of the LTTE, then ordered a march to the Fort by *Tharai, Kadal and Vaan* (land, sea and Air) routes by the LTTE militants who wanted the complete control of the Tamil regions of the island nation and would not settle for anything lesser.

The Army was taken by surprise as the LTTE combatants moved in with anti-aircraft guns and a huge steel plated bulldozer that looked like a battlefield tank. The LTTE men took over bunkers held by the SL Army, and sealed-off army reinforcements by helicopters, deploying their anti-aircraft guns. The Srilankan Government sent reinforcement through sea numbering 10000 troops to retake their positions. After heavy fighting by the SL army and the LTTE men who then were transforming themselves like a regular army, Tamil militants could not taste victory in their very major first ever attempt of conventional war against the Srilankan army.

However though defeated, the LTTE proved the world and to themselves, that they can take on a conventional army to the battlefield unlike a guerrilla type unit which serves only a hit-and-run cause. **Conventional wisdom dictates that guerrilla unit can disrupt**

opposition but to build on the victories and translate such victories in forming a nation-state requires vision, resilience, strategy, planning and execution to the details. The new Government in New Delhi was satisfied with the defeat of LTTE in the battle, but it also aggressively pursued the killers of the Rajiv Gandhi in India's Tamil lands with logical conclusion of killing or capturing all the executioners, and also whoever played any role in the plot and in execution, and then handed over all the culprits to the court for prosecution. The details about the LTTE's plot that came from India during the investigation of Rajiv's killers by SIT, and the defeat in the hands of the Srilankan Army hardened the warlord to prepare for further battles, and also, eliminating anyone who would be against the formation of an Independent Nation-State, which the LTTE did clinically over the next decade that made them as the most dreaded Militant Group of the 20th Century.

The Rise and Rise of LTTE in the rest of NE Provinces

Notwithstanding the failure of their armed unit in overpowering a conventional Army during the first battle of Elephant Pass, the Tigers continued to recruit, train, and arm more rebels in all the multiple disciplines of their Organization. Few years back when the civil administration was under the control of the Srilankan Government, and then, briefly by the Indian Peace-keeping Force, recruitment, training, logistics, and availability of the youth for the movement were hard to come by. However, all became easy from 1990, and more importantly, funding for the Organization became much easier. People's travel from LTTE region to the other parts of Srilanka attracted taxes. It was Worse, for the ones who wanted to permanently move to the other parts of Srilanka or to go abroad the Taxes levied were very high payable either in gold or gold jewelry or the currency.

In the Eastern Provinces of Srilanka, in order to fuel hatred between the Srilankan Tamils and the Sinhalese, the armed wing of the LTTE Unit, on few occasions attacked civilian areas killing scores of Sinhalese, as part of their strategy for total alienation between the two communities. The attacks were carried out in Ampara and Polonnaruwa where the Tamils and Sinhalese were present in large

numbers with almost equal proportions. In general the civilian attacks by the Tigers were sporadic though it grew fewer over a period of time as the focus of the LTTE was to shift from a guerrilla unit to a full-fledged Army.

The President of Srilanka, Premadasa who had been relentless in his campaign against the LTTE was to be their next target. There were reports that when the IPKF (Indian Peace-keeping Force) was present in North-Eastern regions, Premadasa then Prime Minister of Srilanka never liked Indian presence in Srilanka. He then ordered the Srilankan Army to provide weapons to the LTTE to attack the IPKF. But it was learnt later that the LTTE used those weapons to kill the surrendered Sinhalese policemen numbering more than seven hundred at one go. After a series of killing of people in high offices, LTTE chose their day for the President Premadasa.

A bicycle rider with a bomb attached to himself moved into Colombo on a busy day when the President Premadasa was attending May Day rally on 1st of May. The man with bombs blew himself up killing instantly, the President and ten more persons including his bodyguards and wounding several others. A week earlier Lalith Athulathmudali, former defence Minister, was assassinated; though initially it was believed that LTTE may have carried out Lalith's assassination, a different version was pointing towards the President Premadasa himself. Few months earlier, the LTTE had assassinated the Srilankan Vice Admiral Clancy Fernando on Nov 16, 1992 near their Naval Headquarters. The period from 1992 to 2002, was the bloodiest era of

Srilanka as the Tigers were relentless from clinching one victory to another gaining control of Northern and Eastern Provinces of Srilanka. The depth of skills of the LTTE were growing up by leaps and bounds and morale of the Srilankan Army was on the reverse gear. A strategic and spectacular success was just due to LTTE in its focus of becoming a full-fledged Army.

Immediately after killing the President, as a next move, the LTTE targeted Pooneryn Army post, attacked and held the Srilankan Army under siege for more than two days. During this battle, the LTTE killed very large number of army men triggering a wide scale fear and desertion in the Army. But the battle also severely tested the capabilities of the Tigers as they have to pool in all their might to humble a Srilankan Army post when the reinforcements to the army camp arrived.

The test of a guerrilla unit to conventional Army was complete in the Pooneryn attack by the LTTE against the Srilankan Army post. A conventional army would have the ability to overpower an enemy army post and capture it, where such a location is of strategic importance.

Pooneryn attack by LTTE had twin objectives: one to destroy the Srilankan Naval base at Nagathevanthurai and simultaneously attack the source of reinforcement from the nearby army camp where more than one thousand soldiers were present. Nagathevanthurai Naval base is of strategic importance for the Srilankan Army to move in and out of the Jaffna, aside from the Elephant pass, where the civilians were allowed to move in and out of Jaffna town, under the supervision of the

Srilankan defence forces. By early 1990s, the LTTE Naval force had a sizeable fleet of Fast Attack Crafts capable of annihilating the Srilankan Navy. At around 02.00 on the 11th November, 1993, the Tigers attacked naval base and simultaneously attacked the Army camp, crippling any support from the Army camp to the Naval base. The Srilankan Navy pressed into service of its Elite Special Boat Squadron and also the Rapid Action Boat Squadron for the protection of the Naval base, but the LTTE was unwilling to give leeway by pressing a huge fleet of Fast attack Crafts. Nearly three hundred Srilankan Naval personnel were killed and the Tigers captured large quantity of arms & ammunitions along with naval boats and navy aircrafts. The army camp had more than 1000 soldiers and almost a thousand of them got killed during this battle.

The Srilankan air force made several attempts during this attack to land at the army camp for reinforcements, but were overpowered due to heavy firepower from the LTTE. It was later learnt by the Srilankan establishment from the Army appointed enquiry commission that during the Pooneryn operations, the LTTE had penetrated the Forward Defence Lines before actually launching the simultaneous attacks against the naval base and the army camp. This penetration effectively neutralized both the Army Post and the Naval base, pushing them to abject surrender when the LTTE advanced. The reinforcement sent to Kalmunai point were unsuccessful as LTTE gave heavy resistance and the troop reinforcement was unsuccessful. On November 13 and 14, the Srilankans were able to reinforce troops as the tired LTTE who were

fighting without proper food and water did not give much resistance. **It was here the LTTE learnt that though their fighters can win the battle, in order to hold the winning territories it is imperative to reinforce the victorious forces for the much needed energy to recoup.** The enquiry commission by the Srilankan Army held that many officers were responsible for the Pooneryn debacle, and concluded that the Army men did not know who the friend or the foe during this battle. On hearing the findings of the enquiry commission it was reported that some of the family members of the dead soldiers did try to attack the wives of the Officers. The enquiry commission also found that the LTTE fighters identified themselves with distinct band worn around their arms. In short, the Pooneryn attack established the LTTE as a conventional Army capable of defeating the Srilankan Army in all types of conventional battles.

Across the shores in India, the LTTE sympathisers in Tamilnadu who were watching with bated breath, understood the importance of the LTTE victory in the battle and were more or less convinced that the LTTE would achieve the goal of an independent Tamil Eelam, despite nil support from India and took comfort, that their own folks would be safe in the future. However, the bureaucrats in the Government headed by PV Narasimha Rao who were completely foxed by the LTTE operatives as they had assassinated the former Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi, and also fooled them by feigning as moles were closely watching the ascendancy of the LTTE in the Srilankan Territory. They were just waiting for an opportune moment which was hard to come

by as they could not trust the Srilankan Government which did double-crossing with LTTE during the IPKF occupation. **Still the bureaucrats were willing to tolerate the Srilankan Government to forge a partnership in case if they really wanted to end the LTTE rebellion. It was not possible to trust the Srilankans and the Indian bureaucracy waited for twelve more years to find an ideal foil in Mahinda Rajapakshe for the subtle payback to the LTTE** for what the Organization had done to them during the years from 1987 to 1991.

Chandrika Kumaratunga

As the LTTE took complete control on the Governance of the Northern and Eastern provinces of Srilanka (the Srilankan Tamil regions), the popularity of the ruling United National Party (UNP) went on a downward spiral. Chandrika Kumaratunga, born in a political family rose to the highest executive post, The President of the Srilanka, in November, 1994; fifteen months before that she was elected as the Prime Minister during the August'93 elections, and thus effectively ending the UNP rule which lasted continuously for seventeen years.

She came to power with a decisive mind to end the ongoing civil war which had been dragging the Srilankan economy that would otherwise be among the Asian giants in the 1990s. On this account, she included two Tamilians in ideating the solution for the ethnic crisis and as well addressing the International Opinion that was decisively against the Srilankan State then. One, Lakshman Kadirgramar, was a sibling of ex-Naval head of Srilanka and was an attorney; the other one Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam was also an attorney and a faculty in the University of Srilanka and a visiting faculty of the US University.

As the first choice of the solution to the problem was to approach by means of Peace, and so the so the customary peace initiatives began and the peace talks resumed between the Tigers and the Srilankan

State. GL Peiries and the Neelan Thiruchelvam were given the task of redefining the constitution who came up with the concept of 'Union of regions' within the Unitary Srilanka. The proposal known as GL-Neelan package, was widely criticized only from hardliners of the both sides, that bore as a testimony that the proposal was sound enough to be implemented. However, the impatient militants withdrew during the peace talks citing their major demands namely, to eliminate restrictions on fishing, to remove economic embargo on the Jaffna peninsula and the closure of Pooneryn camp permanently, were not acceded by the Government. There were delays in the Government side as the Buddhist monks were unwilling to settle for a Federal solution or Indian model solutions. The fighting resumed taking away precious human lives remorselessly over the next few years, with the Tigers going from position of strength to strength and unstoppable.

From Jungles to Junta to ...

When one boy from Velvettithurai along with a small group decided to challenge a National Army of Srilanka, not many would have imagined the required **Portfolio of skills they would build over the next two decades Transcontinental Organization, Technological excellence, Combative Mindset, International Network with Governments, Civilians, Media, Underworld, Capabilities to Manufacture Battlefield Weapons, On-field battle strategy, Financing Models, Stealth Operations, Covert Intelligence Operational Unit, Sleeper Cells, Political lobbying, Publicity and Propaganda skills, Lightning Maneuverability across combat regions were all not enough; beyond these capabilities the major requirement for an Armed rebellion group is the Sourcing & Supply chain Management of arms & ammunitions at the most critical time and the quantity enough to counter the Opposing Army.**

A Mastermind of LTTE who was in-charge of the Arms procurement wing was a walking nightmare of Governments, Authorities and the Interpol for decades; he was an intrepid personality to engage the Arms dealers alike across Asia, Europe and Africa. Popularly called as KP, Selvarasa Pathmanabhan alias Kumaran Pathmanabhan, a Political Science student who dropped out from Jaffna University in the late

seventies joined LTTE group later rose to lead the Group, post 2009, 17th May. In his initial years he moved to India and posed himself as a businessman to build networks across Tamilnadu and Mumbai as a launch-pad for his future role. He was one of the few Srilankan Tamil Militant leaders fluent in both Sinhalese as well as in Tamil; perhaps this language skill helped him to cultivate a queer friendship within the ranks of Srilankan defence services.

The Network he had built within the Srilankan Defense services served as intelligence input for LTTE for a variety of logistics and arms procurement. The militant movement being not a legal force was always in short-supply of Arms and money for a war; his network provided key decision points, that was at once enough to preserve the precious financial resources without spending too much in arms procurement and as well stealing an edge over the arms capability of the Srilankan defences during the combat in the battlefield. Based on the input from his network, he would source arms for the use in battlefields such that arms procured were better than the ones possessed by the Srilankan Defence services giving LTTE the edge over their enemies. Some of the published studies stated that he had Bank accounts in more than 25 different countries and could elude all major airports without any problems. **He was a mysterious force within the Top Leadership team possessing a rare covert skill – of diplomatic and political variety – normally absent within the LTTE, a skill that would calibrate the power of the LTTE in the most covert logistics management.** The caliber of the LTTE, had risen from loose group of

militants to guerrillas, and then to an Organized armed Unit of multidimensional force, and capabilities to floor their opponents with planned precision with their Transnational Infrastructure.

The Intel network of the LTTE led by Pottu Amman provided the logistics for the combat group to enter or exit Colombo, and other Government offices across Srilanka with ease. The modus operandi of the intelligence network built by Pottu Amman was to bribe the Srilankan Officials to gain access to key places for the Tigers to attack and kill, or to cause damages in Colombo or anywhere in Srilanka. This was possible by placing key resources in and around Colombo. However the pinnacle of their covert operational network was demonstrated in Mozambique, where they could seize the arms meant for the Srilankan forces by their freighter and used the same against them.

By 1997, the LTTE had become the most dreaded militant organization in the world when they were able to stun with an elusive stealth operation in arms bazaar. In early 1997 Government of Srilanka had placed orders for 32400 Mortar bombs of 81 mm worth then USD 3 million for their operations against the militant group. Ben Tsoi an Israeli arms sub-contractor had arranged for the deal between the Srilankan Government and the Chinese built ZDI – Zimbabwe Defense Industries. By the end of May 1997 when the supplies were ready to be dispatched to Srilanka, they were transported in a train to Mozambique. The Tiger group owned freighter *Stillus Limassul* anchored in the ports of the Mozambique in the guise of the Srilankan

Soldiers. The arms were loaded and the freighter left the port of Beria, Mozambique; but it was not until a fax message received by US Embassy in Colombo stated that, they had hijacked the arms meant for the Srilankan forces with a warning that anyone acting against the legitimate interests of the SL Tamils would be severely punished; until then, none knew that the Tigers had seized the goods meant for the Srilankan forces.

All the major western powers took notice of this action – a non-state actor overpowering a State with a Transnational Infrastructure; this became the most serious crime committed by the LTTE and the immediate response was most Western Governments constituted Academic and non-Academic Study groups to learn more about the Organizational capability of the LTTE and its attack capability in particular. All major nations became paranoid with the operational achievement of the LTTE as it meant that, if such a skill could be acquired by the Tigers, then any militant group with means and determination, could repeat some daring acts requiring Transnational Infrastructure. In the parlance of a State-Craft this act almost became the beginning of the end of LTTE though it took more than a decade for all pieces to fall in place for the persecution. At the outset for anyone who supports a militant group would find the success of the LTTE sting was a Grandeur Feat and celebrate the same. The irony is that, a Nation-State would not appreciate such an action even if it in some ways would stand by legitimate interests of the LTTE. The best LTTE could have done was to destroy such ammunitions at

their source than carry it to jungles of Vanni even if they had possessed that skill.

In the Hindu religion, Ramayan is an unparalleled epic that tells the story of Vishnu, the Hindu God, who protects the good against the evil. The epic concurrently portrays some themes about the War and State-Craft in addition to morals for the people to follow. In this epic, Ram is the avatar of the God Vishnu; he lived in jungles due to design of the fate and in this period his wife Sita was carried away by Ravan the King of evil forces. Ram sent Hanuman as an emissary to Srilanka to find his missing wife Sita. Hanuman after a strenuous journey to Srilanka was able to locate Sita, and was overflowing with joy for accomplishing his mission. As a demonstration of power of Ram to the King of Srilanka, Hanuman destroys the beautiful places in the island attracting the attention of the King Ravan. The King sends his son Indrajit to arrest Hanuman and after a bitter battle Hanuman surrenders to Indrajit when the latter aims Brahmastra – a Sacred and Powerful weapon that can tie any force on earth - at Hanuman. In the epic period, Brahmastra was owned by very few Great men of valor. Hanuman was a rare breed, and was blessed with a capability to break the Brahmastra, and set himself to Liberty. However, Hanuman chose not to break the Brahmastra as the weapon is a sacred one and to be respected by all.

The Lesson here is NEVER to undermine the recognized Superior forces of the earth as accepted by one and all and it applies to all situations, organizations and individuals which Hanuman practiced

religiously. All winning situations need not have to be converted into victories. If the LTTE think tank had understood the importance of the Mozambique sting operation, it could have carefully acted avoiding such an undue attention that cautioned the Western powers, who till that point overwhelmingly extended their support to LTTE for the cause of Tamil Eelam. The LTTE think tank believed with never ending zeal that, their acts of Commissions and Omissions are justifiable because of the sufferings and pains of the SL Tamils. For the Western Nations especially to their Diplomats and Intelligence Units notwithstanding their Political Leadership, **the acts of LTTE would always be evaluated as a State actor versus non-State actor rather than any other plausible arguments. Sorely LTTE missed that point.** The Srilankan diplomacy woke up in no time and used this act as a very effective platform against the LTTE, though their political and military acquired capabilities many years later to floor the LTTE in their backyard, due to tactical assistance from Regional and Western Powers.

Post this Mozambique operation and other activities of the LTTE in Srilanka, Europe, Canada and the US, many countries decided to keep the Tigers at their arm's length. 9/11 provided further blow as almost all nations chose to ban LTTE except a few including Norway perhaps to politically engage LTTE in their weakest platform. Such an engagement went from bad to worse for LTTE as their politically knowledgeable leadership team was almost at their end of active days, leaving LTTE as a unidimensional force or a simply a combat force than

multidimensional Militant Unit. Their Theoretician Anton Balasingham was suffering from cancer and had to be smuggled out of Srilanka desperately for medical attention in London, and their arms procurement head KP alias Pathmanaban took a retirement from his role in LTTE, to settle down in Thailand being married to a local girl by 2001–02.

India in the New Millennium

Economic policies of India, from 1991 and thereafter, by various Governments made an ever lasting impact on the youth of India. It opened up a large number of opportunities, tiny and small, big and large, good and great for the young population of India. It allowed to Indian youth to come out of a mindset which looked for a career in a safe Government jobs and to move towards more challenging roles in private sector. It allowed the young minds to foresee and adapt to the changes in the technologies that were emerging every now and then. When the Internet was made available free to the world from early 1990s, a new way of free communication mode – email, was designed for all and sundry; it was a concept by an Indian origin man Sabeer Bhatia (along with a colleague Jack Smith), as he designed and setup e-mail service provider ‘Hotmail.com’ to all users who were willing to open their accounts and liberally exchange their communications both personal and official at free of cost.

Beginning from 1990s, a number of Greenfield projects were established in India at a very large scale in Capital intensive sectors including Petrochemicals, Steel, Automobile, Cements and across various sectors and Industries. However, IT (Information Technology) stole the limelight as it was a Sunrise Industry across the world

including the US and Europe, with a wide gap in talent requirements and availability of manpower.

India, with a fairly large number of English medium educational institutions has been endlessly supplying IT Industry's human resources requirements. The quest for excellence in Science & Technology aided by Indian Institutes of Technology along with a large number of private colleges and Institutions were reshaping future of Indian youth hitherto unknown levels.

From 1991, India's GDP (Gross Domestic Product) expanded at over 6.5% per annum; over a period of next two decades India became the third largest economy in terms of Purchasing Power Parity as on date, though still has some catching to do with in terms of nominal GDP and per capita GDP. Indian Scientists have been able to put multiple satellites on orbit without having to look at the Western Nations for launch pad options. Still, in critical sectors like infrastructure for the burgeoning population, affordable healthcare, literacy for all, sanitation and safe drinking for all are today's major challenges; however, various political parties despite ideological differences are trying to address the problems in the ways only known to them. Since, the problems are huge and given the challenges of a democracy and regional choices, the progress is very slow; but sooner India would have an inflection point that would transcend the current problems, and the solutions would emerge from nowhere. This would happen with a rise in literacy levels and the associated cultural shifts and the attitudes of the youngsters across India.

As the environment of India applies to Tamilnadu, the youngsters began enjoying the progress of Tamilnadu which got immensely benefitted due to large number of Private Engineering colleges and Institutions. The focus of social interactions of youngsters have largely shifted to new gadgets, new technologies, new IT companies, and new employment opportunities in the emerging sectors. The later years of 2000 opened up social media with a seamless reach to all sections of the society. Though most of the communication in the social media is only personal between the users, there are many subjects that come up for the discussions including the Srilankan Tamil issue. Admittedly there is a lot of sympathy from this generation of Indian Tamils and also support for the cause of the Srilankan Tamils. Unfortunately, the discussion which should only focus on the welfare of Srilankan Tamils, moves into different platform where it leads to a tussle of who did what at which instances that went wrong which helps none. There has to be a forum that would bring all sections of Tamils obviating a competitive credit and abuse in addressing the concerns of the Srilankan Tamils.

Assassination of Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam

The growth of armed struggle in Srilanka has no Parallel in the modern world; despite all the calls and cries for the protection of minorities, State Sponsored terror either overtly or covertly against the minorities had always left them at the receiving end. They were burnt, killed, murdered in broad day lights and no questions are asked. For the media, regional and International, such atrocities are meant for their headlines. For the aspirants in the Political Offices, these atrocities are additional benevolent fodders helping their own cause. Self-interests rather than human tragedy is the decision point of all actors – State or Non-State.

Aside from the militants, the LTTE, the Srilankan Tamils also had a number of intellectuals at their vanguard to protect and guide them through the minefield of hatred, bias and discontent. A Fulbright Fellow, reader at the Colombo Law School and a visiting Faculty of Harvard Law School, Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam was one among the most revered Legal experts of the Srilanka. He was a member of the Minority rights group based in London and was also an International Observer in several countries including Ethiopia, Pakistan, Chile, Kazakhstan, South Africa and Nigeria.

Nominated as a Member of Parliament by the TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front) in March 1983, he could not attend the Parliament as the Militant groups advised Tamil Members of Parliament to boycott; the reason was, if the Members took oath based on the amendment passed then by the Srilankan Parliament, a Member of Parliament had to abandon the demand for a separate State which was against the Goal of the Militants. Most of the members who did not take oath in the Parliament chose to leave the Srilankan shores, Dr. Thiruchelvam chose to settle down in Colombo.

Chandrika Kumaratunga took over as the President of Srilanka then in 1994 and was pushing very hard for the Peace Process with the LTTE. She then had appointed Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam knowing quite well that he alone from the Tamils' side, would be able to present the most complete plan that would accommodate the interests of the Srilankan Tamils and as well the Sinhalese. Dr. Thiruchelvam and Dr.G.L.Peiris who later headed the peace negotiations from the Government side during Norwegian brokered peace process, together announced what was known as then as GL-Neelan package. The package was heavily criticized on both sides by the hardliners as it accommodated the views of both the ethnic groups. The Warlord fumed, as it was against his long held view of Independent Sovereign Nation as the solution for the ethnic problems between the Srilankan Tamils and the Sinhalese.

Dr. Thiruchelvam's life was in danger and he was not the first one among the moderate Srilankan Tamils in the firing line of LTTE. There were numerous others who grew up in Srilanka who genuinely felt that

the Srilanka was their homeland, and never wanted to give up the hopes of quiet life in Srilanka.

When Vattukottai resolution was passed in 1976 by the late S.J.V.Chelvanayagam, there were a number of moderates present in the event and one of the most important face was A.Amirthalingam. Dr. Neelan who was not present in the meeting, was shocked to hear the content of the resolution proclaiming that an Independent Nation-State for the Srilankan Tamils as the only solution; the resolution also apologized to the Srilankan Tamils for the Leadership failure of the moderates to reach a political solution, even after 28 years of struggle post Srilankan Independence. Unconfirmed sources claim that A.Amirthalingam confiding to Dr. Neelan Thiruchelvam that the moderates could not rein in the young boys, who were in a rage against the attacks by the Srilankan Government that was carried out constantly and continuously against the Tamils of Srilanka.

Though A.Amirthalingam rose up in the ranks of TULF (Tamil United Liberation Front), the moderate political group was threatened and subdued by the LTTE who would not accept anything short of an Independent Nation-State, Tamil Eelam. In 1989, Post Indo-Srilankan peace accord the LTTE saw him as someone who could potentially delay or disrupt the goal of an Independent Tamil Eelam. He was then silenced in 1989, and ten years later the Warlord handed over a similar fate to Dr. Thiruchelvam that shocked all developed nations. The assassination of Dr.Thiruchelvam proved that, when there is someone who appears in between the goal of achieving an Independent Nation-

State, the LTTE would not have hesitation in silencing him, even if he is a moderate, an acknowledged Intellectual in the International arena and one of their own folks. The event almost ended the hopes of third parties in moderating the LTTE towards their goal!

But little did Prabhakaran realize that the noose was around the corner from the powerful western nations who thought that it would be enough of LTTE and the US banned the LTTE in 2000 as a Terrorist Group giving a very big blow to the hopes and ambitions of the Srilankan Tamils.

The Second Battle of Elephant Pass

A narrow piece of land, Elephant Pass Isthmus, provides a crucial land link between the Jaffna peninsula and the Wanni mainland. Sri Lanka's rail route and the National highway pass through this Isthmus connecting Jaffna peninsula with the rest of the Sri Lanka. Hence the Elephant Pass Isthmus is the most strategic point of battle. During the early nineties, for the first time when the LTTE tried to break through the Elephant Pass to gain the control of Jaffna, it ended in a failure as it was conventional war to which LTTE was in their learning phase. In 1993, after overrunning the Pooneyn camp it could not press further as the ammunitions needs and the planning needed for further progress remained a big task. But by then in 1999, the LTTE was ready for the second battle of Elephant Pass, as it had scored spectacular victories in the Northern and as well in the Eastern provinces during the intervening period. The armed guerilla movements across the world were watching with awe about the progress of the LTTE. Some of the defence analysts across the world were keenly following the progress of the LTTE; a few had commended the LTTE for their spectacular achievement in overthrowing Pooneyn camp, and gave full marks to LTTE for becoming a conventional Army rather than being a guerrilla movement. There was one or more perhaps openly commenting in the

media that the Tamil Eelam target being very close and easily achievable.

By end of 1999, the LTTE began their march towards the Elephant Pass, and later the entire Jaffna peninsula; the landsea joint campaign started bearing fruits slowly. However, it was also a bit of luck that helped the LTTE to overpower the Army in the Isthmus. Firstly, the black tiger suicide squads entered the Army base along with the regular fighting units, and destroyed the armored vehicles, artillery, tanks and ammunition. It was followed by heavy fighting by both the Army and the LTTE when the latter had mounted immense attack on the Army. Soon the Army chose to vacate the base and it was reported that Army had to evacuate due to shortage of drinking water as the desalination machinery had broken down. Finally the Elephant Pass was taken over by the LTTE, and it then held the entire of Northern and Eastern provinces of Sri Lanka but for the Jaffna. **In the history of Sri Lanka, the second battle of Elephant Pass was a major setback; then, as expected Prabhakaran ordered the march towards Jaffna.** As the battle continued, it was reported that more than seven hundred soldiers had been killed and nearly 2500 were wounded from the Sri Lankan side.

Sensing the danger to more than 40000 troops in the Jaffna peninsula, the Sri Lankan President requested the help of India to evacuate the Sri Lankan soldiers trapped in Jaffna. The reports indicate that India declined any open assistance to Sri Lanka, as it had to contend with the local political pressure from Tamil Nadu. Some

unconfirmed reports indicated that in the year 2000, Indian Administration indirectly pressured the LTTE to halt the March towards Jaffna. So the LTTE, perhaps based on some advice or pressure halted further progress towards Jaffna. But the LTTE also knew that defending the entire territories after taking over Jaffna would need more ammunitions and planning; it was a lesson they learnt during their Pooneryn Army post attack in 1993. However, from 1999, there were overtures from the Srilankan Government for a peaceful negotiated settlement. The LTTE had then been unrelenting in its attacks and not willing to move to a negotiated table; then, the United Kingdom proscribed the LTTE as a terrorist group in 2000. Three years earlier the United States had proscribed the LTTE as a foreign terrorist group. There seemed to be worse to follow, but the LTTE though were willing to speak to Norwegians, were disinclined to give up the demand of an Independent Nation Tamil Eelam. Perhaps, there were pressure groups in the Western Nations, particularly US, that began the task of bringing the LTTE to the negotiating table, ever since they decided to buy weapons directly from the North Korea since 1997.

In July 2001, LTTE carried out massive attack on the Colombo airport and its military airbase in the airport, destroying eight military aircrafts and four civilian aircrafts; Srilankan economy recorded a negative growth for the first time since its independence.

In the new Millennium, terror attacks of various Organizations from Middle-east and the LTTE grew from strength to strength across the world with heavy civilian casualties. This made the US and other

Western Nations to respond sharply and remorselessly, that hurt even the legitimate demands and as a result of this response, the most impacted were the Srilankan Tamils. On Nov 2001, post 9/11, the US listed the LTTE as Specially Designated Global Terrorist (SDGT), and have let them remain in that list despite several years have passed since their military defeat in 2009.

The End Game



Norwegian Brokered Peace

Peace, is not just absence of conflict but also prevalence of justice to all and sundry along with economic and social dividends. If one looks for such examples of peace in the modern countries of this planet Earth, the filter throws the list with Nordic countries at the very top. The Northern European countries (or Nordic countries) include Denmark, Sweden, Finland, Norway and Iceland are economically well-developed and politically stable, with advancements in Science, Technology, Human & Social Indicators. The Nordic Countries are welfare states: they distinguish themselves with others and offer free education, healthcare and employment opportunities to all with good income, along with opportunities to pursue pleasure and sport to all citizens. Very recently, Sweden moved to six-hour workday wherein most countries in the world have an eight-hour work day. Some of their important cities of Nordic region - Copenhagen, Stockholm, Oslo and Helsinki offer great life to their citizens, and enjoy crowning glory in terms of peace and justice. In India, only Kerala Government had stated their intentions about moving towards to life similar to Nordic countries, which is a stand-out example of life, liberty and opportunities in pursuit of pleasure.

On the edge of the map, one can look at Norway standing almost at

sixty-five degrees with Oslo as its Capital. It is also called as a land of mid-night sun with daylight extending to almost mid-night, blurring the divide between Day and Night during June and July months of the year. Norway is unique among the developed nations – and within Nordic region - as the nation supports humanity of the world by mediating for peace between warring regions, Nations and Nation-States. The first of such an experiment began in the early nineties when it attempted to bring peace between warring Palestine and Israel in 1993; Palestine refers to the geographical area that covers the State of Israel, West Bank and the Gaza Strip. The war between Palestinians (Arabs) and the Jews (of Israel) dates back to 1920s when the Jews began to return to their Ancient Native Landmass, the territory between Mediterranean Sea and the River Jordan. Until the return of Jews beginning of 1920s, the Palestinian Arabs had made the territory as their homeland for centuries though then the British were holding control of the territory.

In 1947, UN adopted a plan with Partition of the territory between the State of Palestine for Palestinian Arabs and the State of Israel for the Jews. In 1948, when the Jewish State was established, the Arab Nations came together and attacked the State of Israel in support of Palestinians Arabs but without success. As per the reported history, ironically or otherwise, the Arabs did not initiate the formation of Palestine but chose to attack Israel and bring the entire territories under their control by means of War. By 1949, due to UN brokered peace efforts, the war between the Arab Nations and Israel was stopped

but not before Israel seized more territories from the Palestinians and established full control over such territories. The outcome of the Peace negotiations between the Israel and the Arab States was that, the Palestinians were Stateless from their homeland and retreated to Gaza Strip and West Bank in large numbers as refugees permanently. The strain of the war for millions of people remained unresolved until formation of Palestine Liberation Organization that was formed in 1964, to represent homeless Palestinians, who continued to remain Stateless for decades. However, Arab nations – Syria, Jordan, Lebanon and Egypt - jointly waged a new war against the Israel in 1967 that lasted for six days. The war helped Israel to gain more territories from the Arab Nations including West Bank, East Jerusalem, the Gaza Strip, the Sinai Peninsula and the Golan Heights. Israel then permanently annexed the East Jerusalem but announced it was willing to give up the remaining territories in exchange for the recognition of Israel by Arab Nations. Post war, the PLO was recognized as the symbol Palestinian Movement, and the PLO chairman Yasser Arafat continued to attack the Israelis at home and abroad.

The peace initiatives attempted at various point in time remained elusive in the region until 1979, when Egypt and Israel came together and agreed for permanent peace between the two nations; then, Sinai was returned to Egypt in 1979 as part of Israel-Egypt agreement. However the hardline Jewish Nationalists were insisting on annexation of remaining territories with Israel, though the diplomacy of the Israel prevailed over them at various points in time.

When the world was moving towards Technological revolution in the late 1980s and early 1990s, the young minds all over the world were willing to move to newer Paradigms of life shedding age old conservatism. As the New world Order was emerging, the developed Nation-States were willing to encourage immigration in regions and accept people from around the world as their citizens towards building multi-cultural society. It also meant that the hardline Nationalists were to be contained in a systematic manner by these developed nations. Extension of Olive branch was mandated by civil societies of the warring nations as it meant unbridled pursuit of happiness by humanity. The Nordic countries, where life was meant for celebration began spreading the message of peace for the humanity even it meant engaging the warring nations. In 1993, due to the initiatives of Norway, the impossible became a norm, wherein the Israel and PLO, the sole representative of the Palestinians signed an historic treaty in White House, Washington D.C., which ended bitterness in the region at least partially. Israeli Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin and the PLO Leader Yasser Arafat signed the agreement with a handshake that allowed a Palestinian Government to function, and over a period of time with much Authority over the West Bank. Post the accord in 1993, though there were repeated strikes on Palestinians, civil society still hopes for Peace, as presently the State of Palestine has been recognized by United Nations, though some of the territories of Palestine still remain under the occupation of Israel.

With this historic back-drop, the Norwegians as a next initiative

chose (or perhaps was encouraged) to bring about peace between the most feared Militant group of the world the LTTE, and the State of Srilanka. The Author is unsure of behind the scenes of the Peace initiatives but would put few points for deliberations for the readers.

Firstly, the peace initiated by the Norwegians was supported by the Western Nations especially the US. Although most of the Western Nations including the US were sympathetic to the SL Tamils' cause not many seemed comfortable with the capabilities of LTTE, which could operate with a Transcontinental Infrastructure challenging the State Actors. More importantly, some of them had unfounded fears that the LTTE may transfer their Techno-Militancy skills to the other armed groups in the Middle-East, as the SL Tamil Militants were a major beneficiary of the training by Palestine based groups in the formative years. So, bringing the LTTE to the negotiating table was a crucial start in neutralizing any leeway that may accrue to armed groups around the world. If this had been the case, **one major flaw in the assumptions of the Western Nations is that such 'Techno-Militancy Skills' are transferable from a Disciplined Army like LTTE to armed terror groups. However, the Counter-Insurgent analysts groups would always be Paranoid about their own shadows, as if such shadows are being implanted by the eavesdroppers.**

Secondly, the motives of the peace initiatives by third parties were still partly genuine as the SL Tamils are enterprising people in the Western countries wherever they had settled integrating well in the respective societies. They had built good careers in Banking, Medicines

and set up small shops across the regions wherever they had settled. Most of them were interested in good life of their young and near ones in Srilanka, and were interested to go back to their homeland provided peace returns.

Finally the peace process was made inevitable when the Islamic Militants attacked WTC in New York on Sep'2001; then, little did they realize the impact they would be making on the rest of the armed groups across the world which was calamitous. **The surprise and dastardly attack on the civilian structure made the Western World to up completely ban all the armed groups – genuine or otherwise - across the world.** No matter how reasonable a non-State actor is, the threat of their stealth operation going completely undetected would cause disaster to civil societies. The immediate repercussion of 9/11 was, World's most powerful Militant Movement, the LTTE, was on the block in no time across the developed nations. The Leadership of the LTTE – the Warlord and the Anton Balasingham – realized the event and chose to behave as the ones adjusting to the emerging World Order, by agreeing to sit in the negotiating table. Though the Norwegians had been in touch with the LTTE for more than a year, the 9/11 episode pushed LTTE to be to the table. Jubilations erupted in the streets of the Srilanka's Tamil regions as the civilians were able to move around freely after many decades without a fear of attack – neither from the Government forces nor the militants.

After two decades no holds barred bloody war, the actors decided to sit on the table genuinely without any options!! On record, the LTTE

was willing to give up the demand of Independent Nation-State, if the Government of Srilanka agreed to a frame work of devolution of power that would be near to their demand, probably a Statehood or similar to that. It was not envisaged that Srilankan Government would agree to their demand though decades of War, huge expenditure, morale of the forces and state of economy with tourism crippled might be forcing the Srilankans to substantially yield to the demands of the LTTE.

Not many within Srilanka and outside believed that talks between the LTTE and Srilanka would end positively, though almost all hoped that it concludes positively, as the lives of the younger ones would only then begin to prosper. In fact **the most sobering note of the peace process was the young Sinhalese men and women undertook a journey to the Tamil provinces of Srilanka in large numbers, with messages of love and peace between the communities.** Such a voluntary action from the younger generation who wanted to enjoy life, and the flavor it offers to humanity on the whole, would be hard to erase in the minds of Sinhalese, as well as the Tamils. A generation of Tamils from Tamilnadu who had watched the horror stories and the retaliation, knew blood-spilling would be no good to anyone across the world.

The LTTE announced its team with Anton Balasingham as Chief negotiator, along with Thamilselvan and Col. Karuna to meet the Srilankan Government delegation led by GL.Peiris. First round of meeting was arranged beginning from 16th to 18th September 2002 at hotel pattaya, Thailand. **In the initial meeting the Chief negotiator of**

LTTE, Anton Balasingham claimed that, SL Tamils are fighting for their homeland and self-determination with willingness to settle for an autonomy and not necessarily an Independent State. Additionally he said that the LTTE would not lay down arms until permanent aspirations of the SL Tamil people are met. Talks concluded wherein the Srilankan Government was expected come to table with the plan for devolution of power in the North-Eastern region, and return of SL Army to their respective bases currently occupying the SL Tamil regions. Both the sides agreed to meet again in Thailand on Oct 31st to Nov 3rd; further rounds of talks were scheduled between the two parties from 2nd to 5th of Dec, 6th to 9th of Jan which went well as planned. Apart from the above talks, three more rounds of talks were held until March'2003.

In the first fortnight of April 2003, perhaps at the US initiative, a preparatory meeting of Srilanka and Norway was scheduled to discuss on the economic donor meeting to (to be held in Tokyo a month later), that would help in rebuilding and rehabilitating the war-torn regions of Srilanka. **Due to the proscription of LTTE as a terrorist Organization, it could not be invited to the meeting held in Washington DC. Citing this insinuation in Washington DC, LTTE immediately suspended further participation in talks** and added that there had not been progress on ground based on the initial six rounds of talks. The LTTE watcher then may have inferred that though the US Government might have allowed flexibility for the Tigers, the policy compulsions from the Diplomatic and Security advisors to US

Government were never willing to extend any concession, and these quarters were pushing the US Government to destroy the LTTE as a group that was then feared as a potentially devastating force.

As the progress on the peace talks were at stalemate, the LTTE insisted on the proposals for a new administrative structure from the Srilankan Government. The Srilankan Government threw limited set of proposals, whereas the LTTE dismissed it without a blink as it would be nowhere near their demands. The LTTE with the inputs from the South Africa and as well from other regional zones of conflict, prepared a report and submitted the proposal as their demand. It was known as the Interim Self-Governing Authority (ISGA) proposal; Norwegians appreciated the LTTE as for the first time ever, had dropped Eelam Demand formally and adopted a different approach. The proposals were however just short of an Independent Nation as it included transfer and control of marine resources in the coastal areas of Tamil provinces to the new ISGA. Many thought if the marine resources transfer could be done away with, the rest seemed to be OK for a peaceful settlement.

Buddhist Sinhala hardliners thought the Ranil Wickramasinghe would transfer the demands made by the LTTE, and so encouraged President Chandrika Kumaratunga to declare emergency, which she promptly did taking away the powers vested on the Defence Minister and the Prime Minister. Technically, peace talks cannot be held with the truncated powers of the Prime Minister and the Defence Minister and the Srilanka situation seemed fluid again.

Besides, there were **Diplomatic forces and Intel Agencies of the Western powers perhaps beyond the control of Norway that were wanting to finish off the LTTE than engaging them in the talks.** The LTTE ideologue Anton Balasingham, though would have felt the pressure points from the Superpowers and would have been willing to accommodate a more street-smart position, he could not do so as their Supreme Commander V.Prabhakaran was not tuned to the threat perception of the third parties that is - the developed nations including the United States. **The Jungle boy, Karuna who was representing the Military side of the LTTE and the Eastern region of the Srilanka and the Balasingham might have got the wind of external pressures as they travelled and remained away from the Vanni Jungles to hear the whispers, worldly wisdom and the innate meanings of deathly silence in the political negotiation theatre in Europe.**

The tales that one could learn in such a theatre, may potentially align oneself to a paranoid group or a worldlywise group, a distinction difficult to fathom, even for the likes of Machiavelli and Sun Tzu.

Karuna Amman was a rare breed who could survive in his terrain and was definitely a wise General who would never fight a losing battle. He might have smelled the covert support of some developed nations' operations to the Srilankan Government to cripple the Non-State Actor LTTE, which was in line with their Policy of fight against the Terror. The author feels that Political Masters of the developed nations may have intended to cripple the LTTE though not to destroy them completely, but their State's Diplomats and Intel Units might have had

contrarian thoughts.

Irony or the strength of the Institutions in a Democracy is that there is no tangible fight against such Institutions who throw an unnecessary by-product (due to they being Paranoid), that potentially kills the genuine demands of the fellow citizens of the Planet. The push for the talks between the Srilankan Government and the LTTE by the Security Research Institutions ever since the Mozambique Sting Operation of the LTTE, in 1997 formally clinched the deal to cripple the non-State Actor, the LTTE. The US support to a nation in War – Overt or Covert – beginning from Falkland War had progressed remarkably due to their edge in top down view. There was no way that Col.Karuna would have missed reading it and he decided his plans for a better future.

One should also note that the **Prize Catch of Srilanka Government, “KP,”** who took over the mantle from V.Prabhakaran post the LTTE's military defeat in 2009, was an extremely covert operation; **the catch was a result of a meeting he was willing to attend with Ex-LTTE Political Head Nadesan's son in a Malaysian Hotel. Such a possibility can be plainly ruled out as Srilankan Operation without the Western Superpower Intel Input.**

Breaking up of LTTE

When the gentle waves of the Indian Ocean rose several meters high and banged on the coastal regions of India and Srilanka on 26th December 2004, none knew at that point of time as those waves were that could destroy livelihood of millions of people at one go and in less than a minute. It left more than 35000 people dead on that day in Srilanka and leaving thousands more in deep misery for the months to come. It left the Government totally caught unawares; Post-Tsunami, LTTE force was quite weakened though they were first one to stand up and recover to support the people. None can be sure of the devastation of the losses especially of the LTTE and its forces, as the Tigers largely won their battles against the Government because of their Naval strength. It was noted that V.Prabhakaran looked very deeply depressed and devastated caused by the mayhem. Desertion of Karuna with six thousand battle ready cadres, calamitous destruction caused by Tsunami left the LTTE as a depleted force. The cause of Col.Karuna's defection was more intriguing than most other events of Srilanka.

A visit to a developed Nation by a Militant Leader surrounded by fighting souls in the jungles of Srilanka would evoke a completely different emotions and impact a Militant's mindset; a wide-eyed Col. Karuna, the Eastern Commander of the LTTE would have never been an

exception to that. The 'awe effect' of the lives of the common folks who celebrate every living day with uninhibited happiness may completely floor a man from jungle. More so in the case of militants living in jungles, and it would be completely earth-shattering in the case of a Militant Leader who grew knowing nothing other than hatred, weapons, murders, blood spilling and every single conceivable crimes against humanity from his childhood. As Col.Karuna would fit that description, then if the 'awe effect' of happy souls would lead to his transformation without a doubt a serious blow to the LTTE's goal of an Independent Nation-State.

When Prabhakaran chose a team to peace talks perhaps he chose them not randomly, but with a view of looking for source of disquiet within such a Team who fought the Srilankan Military, with let the hell-break loose kind of ferocity. He perhaps expected Col.Karuna would not be satisfied with the peace process if it did not meet the legitimate demands of the Srilankan Tamils. However events moved to a contrary positions as Karuna was the only one who was representing both the Military side of the LTTE and as well as the Eastern provinces of the Srilanka. A major Western country that had wanted a transformation within the LTTE, in order to decimate the firepower of armed unit would have chosen their target as Karuna. **Perhaps he was encouraged or threatened, directly or indirectly to move away from the LTTE so that at least he could save himself and his loyal men from the actions of the State actors in the following years. Poor Karuna relented as he was cornered.**

There are other sources that pointed out differences between the Eastern and Northern Provinces of Tamils as acute, but these are baseless as such differences cannot kill the freedom movement of the Srilankan Tamils. There are sources that claim caste differences within the Srilankan Tamils as a negative factor. The Author dismisses those claims too cannot kill the freedom movement of the Srilankan Tamils. **According to this Author, the rise of LTTE a Non-State actor on par with the State Actors is unacceptable to the Western Nations and that was the principal reason for the military defeat of the LTTE.** Of course murder of Lakshman Kadirgrammar and many wise men of Srilanka was never acceptable to any sane mind but those are not the reasons for LTTE's decimation. LTTE should blame themselves for their boisterous activities across the continents and their association with North Korea from 1990s as the principal reasons for their total annihilation. Every other reason is purely Auxiliary and cannot be a conclusive reason for their decimation. However, the above reason does not absolve the sins committed by the Individuals and Institutions who were expected to protect the lives of the Srilankan Tamils and their dignity.

These institutions and individuals towards the end, especially after 2004, became part of the team to annihilate LTTE and thereby supported the genocidal tendencies of Srilanka.

The Political Leaders in Tamilnadu may hold a view that people with vengeance are the reasons for LTTE's Military defeat. The Author does not disagree, however, the Author emphasizes that the impetus for

finishing-off the Military Wing of the LTTE along with the required training, and strategic, covert and tactical support came from the Western Powers. These powers did it due to their restlessness and blatant failures to contain the Terror groups arising from Asia. As discussed elsewhere in this book, these groups consistently may have urged their Political and Government Executive Heads to finish Off the LTTE, as the group's Military Presence was confined to Srilanka, and additionally, the regional State Actors would be more than willing partners.

LTTE vs Srilankan Army – from 2006 to 2009

During the peace process from the year 2002 till the year 2005, the US was particularly concerned at the Institutionalized structure and the iron discipline of the LTTE cadres, which were the back-bone of their campaign against the Srilankan Army and in winning the battles. These were the traits apart from the core military skills gave the militants unassailable edge over their Srilankan Army. However, the beginning of the peace process meant a gradual decline of combat situations with more focus on other developmental activities by the LTTE in both Eastern and the Northern provinces of Srilanka. The author believes an attempt, perhaps an International one, was made to break the discipline of the LTTE in 2003 and it promptly yielded results as the efforts pushed Karuna Amman alias Muralitharan out of the LTTE by April 2004, which meant a serious blow to Organization. Unfortunately for the LTTE, Karuna took away six thousand cadres in the Eastern Provinces of Srilanka who were combat ready with an established track record of repetitive victories in the battles. One should note that Karuna was an Independent Regional commander of the Eastern Provinces of the Srilanka and had the authority to collect taxes in the region and use funds as appropriate to the needs of the

region. In some sense he was almost on par with V. Prabhakaran within the LTTE in the Eastern Provinces.

In May 2004 general elections in India, Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) led by Atal Bihari Vajpayee lost the elections and Congress party and its allies formed the Government. One should note that the Congress party is headed by Sonia Gandhi, an Italian born widow of former of Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi. Ever since she took over the party in 1998 due to the pressure from the party loyalists, the party gained ascendancy and was able to overthrow the BJP led Government at the hustings. One of her loyalists, Dr. Manmohan Singh, who was the Finance Minister under P.V.Narasimha Rao Government took over as the Prime Minister of India. Soon the party lost no time in fixing up the LTTE juggernaut; a retired Official, M.K.Narayanan was summoned to take up the role as National Security Advisor (NSA) in the Prime Minister's Office who was known to hate the LTTE during his tenure as Intelligence Bureau Chief in 1987. The US saw a partner in him in precipitating the LTTE though they knew the Organization was just in their means against the Srilankan Government. In Srilanka, Mahinda Rajapakshe took over as the President of Srilanka after the end of two terms for the incumbent President Chandrika Kumaratunga. Mahinda was a Sinhala hardliner and the Government of India saw a partner in him and began to engage him. So by 2005 all critical pieces were in place to wipe out the LTTE and it was left to the Srilankan Army to pull up their socks and march into the battlefield.

A weakened LTTE after the break-up Karuna, mayhem unleashed on

LTTE by Tsunami at the end of 2004 by washing off their critical resources, a friendly Government in India, and ever supportive US with additional critical Arms and Ammunitions available through Pakistan and China, and a determined new Government in Srilanka were not enough. The Srilankan Army did not believe that they could take on the LTTE and finish them off. However, constant motivation due to favorable environment and inclusion of tactical strike forces bolstered their chances of defeating the LTTE. Additionally, the Karuna faction was called in to fight against the LTTE in parallel and recruitment for the faction was encouraged from the available members among the refugees in India. India did their best in advising Norway that they were too soft on LTTE, and thereby fissures to emerge for options of a military solution than a political solution.

Though V. Prabhakaran understood the motives of the Regional and the World powers, he was banking on the regional factor Tamilnadu, and calculated that India would never be allowed to ignore the cries of the people of Tamilnadu and the media coverage if the Government of India were to go against the LTTE. The Indian Administration, tactically overcame this constraint by including a N.Ravi, Director from India's most respected newspaper 'The Hindu' published from Chennai, Tamilnadu in the team of National Security Advisory (NSA) panel. The NSA has a panel with multiple representative groups and the media were also one among them; the Indian Administration did not have any hesitation in including the Media in the panel as it would help them in managing any adverse media fallout. It might have also helped them in

publishing particularly a negative side of the war and the LTTE in a much prominent manner.

The effect of Tsunami was catastrophic for the LTTE, and it has been acknowledged that when the Norwegians met V. Prabhakaran post Tsunami in early 2005, he was very much depressed. For the first few days immediately after the Tsunami, the LTTE did not announce his whereabouts after the Tsunami had hit the Srilankan Coast. But it was widely acknowledged that the Srilanka was the worst affected during the 2004 Tsunami, and the Tamil Coastal areas took the full impact of nature's fury, especially the LTTE and their naval bases. The coastal towns of Eastern Provinces where the Muslim population were high in numbers suffered a lot, followed by the Tamil population in the Coastal regions. Perhaps, the Srilankan Government knew the depth of the damages; B.Raman, one of the noted Defense Analyst of India had commented in one of his articles that in the Internet chat rooms of the Srilanka, the public were happy that even if their Army could not defeat the LTTE, the damage inflicted by the nature on LTTE's resources as a welcome one.

By 2006, the LTTE had 20 naval bases and over 300 vessels for their naval wing; these figures are much less than what they owned prior to Tsunami. But importantly they had nearly a dozen merchant ships which carried goods in the normal course. However, when the weapons had to be transported to their bases in Srilanka from the sourcing point, the LTTE they depended on these merchant ships for logistics and clandestine deliveries in the coast of Srilankan territory. If one

looks at the map of Island of Srilanka that is in tear drop shape, one can see a long coastline that would require huge man power to have a vigil over the Island nation. The Tiger leadership, perhaps the entire Leadership Team, had a firm background knowledge of the seas for generations, and were able to lord over the until then without any worries. It was their naval strength that translated into much of their victories as most of the inland is reachable from the nearest coast in the Island Nation. But then came the showstopper with India and US working together, with Indian Administration at the driver's seat; the Intel inputs were given to the Srilankan Navy whenever they were able to spot the LTTE's merchant ship carrying the weapons for the LTTE, the Srilankan Navy would chase them in International waters and would destroy the weapons meant for LTTE. This virtually closed the options for LTTE to acquire more fire power for the final battles against the Srilanka. In fact, it is acknowledged in the media from the sub-continent that beginning from 2006 more than ten ships belonging to LTTE, that were carrying Arms and Ammunitions meant for their war against Srilankan Army were destroyed using the intel input by the Srilankan Navy; in one instance a ship was chased till near the Australian continent and was destroyed. LTTE were then forced to use their locally manufactured weapons against the Srilankan firepower, and it was totally insufficient in the combat situation. It made them to withdraw from their positions from one town to another, taking along the locals forcefully with them as a Using the Tamil civilians as a shield was catastrophic for the remorseless LTTE, and the Srilankan State did

not care for its citizens being forcefully used as cannon fodders, but continued to pound them as they were Tamils and not Sinhalese.

From early 2006 the Srilankan Government decided to go for Military solution as political solution was in a gridlock with apparently no party willing to yield any ground.

After having decided to go for a military solution the Srilankans used most of the aid they had received for peace process and for Tsunami Rehabilitation chose to go on shopping spree for all the weapons needed for a fresh war against the LTTE. India, though were willing to extend a tactical hand refused to sell all the weapons needed to Srilankans for the fear of backlash from Tamilnadu. Once the weapons were in place a trigger point was needed and it came in Mavil Aru Anicut problem, a Water reservoir meant for farmers in the Eastern provinces. To preserve the water needed for the SL Tamil farmers, the LTTE initially had closed the sluice gates of the dam; however, after negotiations with Buddhist Monks in the region an agreement was reached between the LTTE and the locals, and accordingly the usage of water for farming needs were to be shared between various communities. A word was spread that the LTTE had closed the sluice gates only to begin the war in the region, which would give them a complete control of the coastal area south of Trincomalee town. Though the ceasefire agreement was in place and some sporadic incidents were reported, there was nothing that would threaten the peace of the Tamil provinces of Srilanka. However, as the Srilankan Government chose the military solution over the protracted talks for

power sharing, the Srilankan Army was pressed into action. First, the Srilankan Army was reluctant to attack the LTTE in Northern regions and chose the Eastern region where due to split of Karuna faction and drying up of the arms and ammunitions, LTTE had decidedly become weak.

Trincomalee was to be secured initially to get the Eastern province under control and so the towns and villages nearby were attacked and the Srilankan Army brought them under their control. Without the necessary firepower, the counterattack of LTTE became weak and they withdrew from the region; when they did, they took the local population along with them as human shield leaving some of the towns and villages as near empty. It was a sign of weakness in the ranks of LTTE loudly announced to the world; thereafter, neither the Srilankan Army nor the Srilankan Government relented.

In the meanwhile, Anton Balasingham who was the Chief of LTTE's political wing and the Chief negotiator passed away in December 2006, battling Cancer and the pain of carrying the entire community's burden on his head leaving a complete void in the ranks of LTTE. He was the only one who was able to command respect from the Westerners and especially the Norwegians, as they addressed him 'Yours Excellency' very respectful diplomatic words used only for Political Heads among the Western Powers. There are some who confide the choice of words used by Norwegian facilitators endlessly irked all stake-holders.

"Anton Balasingham May be Dead, but Long Live Anton

Balasingham!!”

Vakarai, a strategic stronghold of LTTE in Batticola was the next target of the Srilankan Army; LTTE suffered serious losses in the battle including seven hundred plus confirmed deaths and another seven hundred more surrendering to the Srilankan Army. Additionally, more than thousand were seriously injured and death included high ranking cadres. In effect, it ensured that the LTTE can be militarily defeated no matter who would come to their aid as Col. Karuna started his operations in parallel against the LTTE along with Intel inputs. By mid-year 2007, Srilankan Army took complete control of Eastern towns – Batticola and Ampara. At the end of the year 2007, much of the remaining naval wing of LTTE was completely destroyed cutting off the critical supplies and reinforcements at the Vantage points. Also in an important targeted attack, the Srilankan Airforce killed S.P.Thamilchelvan, Leader of the LTTE’s Political wing, a position he took over ever since the death of the Anton Balasingham. However unlike Balasingham, S.P.Thamilchelvan never understood politics, political and diplomatic theatre. In the next year and half the Srilankan Government completed the formalities taking over the control of entire Tamil provinces with just allowance for no fire zone where the civilians and the LTTE leadership was boxed in less few square kilometers in mullivaikal.

The Final Kill

In India, May 2009 was the election time. The incumbent Prime Minister Manmohan Singh and his Congress Party was seeking re-election of their Government. Their allies in Tamilnadu, the DMK who publicly prevaricated with the decisions of the Indian Government did never own a stand about the Srilankan Tamils issue. The Chief of the DMK M.Karunanidhi who began his fast on a fine morning in April'09 in the beaches of Chennai, demanding Government of India to intervene and stop the Srilankan Army's March in the Tamil civilian areas of Srilanka, withdrew his fasting well before the lunch hour of the same day. The tormentor, the Srilankan Government unceasingly continued their efforts to finish off the LTTE as desired by most of the Diplomats and Intel Units around the World. **In 2008 when the LTTE was dying, FBI maintained that they were the most dangerous armed organization, ahead of Al Qaeda. Perhaps in 2010, M.K.Narayanan the National Security Advisor of India then commented that the funding lines of LTTE were intact implying possibility of its revival; all surmises are now proved wrong or made to prove wrong.**

However, 2009 seemed to be end of the bloodbath. Srilanka and its Asian neighbor would not have seen similar devastation at any time in the past few hundred years. The warring parties, LTTE and the

Srilankan Government did not have any remorse on the civilian casualties. The SL Tamil diaspora across the world, from Washington to Toronto, from London to Paris, and from Geneva to Berne were in streets crying for the attention of World leaders to stop the Srilankan Military campaign against the Tamils of Srilanka. Across the shores in Tamilnadu, people were in streets to stop the Srilankan forces. The political leaders from Tamilnadu wanted to end the catastrophe engulfing the Tamil regions of Srilanka. The remnant leadership of the LTTE that was positioned away from the Srilanka tried to save their top leadership from the throes of death to ensure the continuity of the Tamil movement in Srilanka. But the major campaigner of the war, the Srilankan Government, with tacit approval from India's Diplomats chose to hurt the Srilankan Tamils when it pained them the worst one would suffer just before their death. UN envoy Vijay Nambiar who was sent to assess the humanitarian situation in Srilanka in April' 2009, refused to report the situation immediately to the UN of the impending crisis, ostensibly on New Delhi's directions during his brief stopover in the city. India's Diplomacy and Srilankan Government were willing to kill the Warlord and his coterie at any cost. **In Tamilnadu, there were large scale demonstrations on a daily basis and there were at least 14 reported suicides to Catch the attention of the Indian Government and the Government of Tamilnadu to stop the march of Srilankan Army in the Tamil territories; all those suicides of Tamils of Tamilnadu were ignored.**

Prabhakaran the Warlord, who was waiting for the Indian Elections

results to take a final decision to end the war, was also willing to take the cost: the accusation of recruiting children to the warfront was ignored; the accusation against his leadership to the act of hiding in the no-fire zone was ignored; the shortage of weapons for the fighters during the last three years of struggle was ignored; medical needs of the dying children, women and his soldiers were ignored; the meaningful political advises from the moderates were ignored; when the election results of India was announced he relented to become part of the history, probably on 17th May, 2009. The Jaffnaites who wondered few years ago about the killer of the mayor Alfred Duraiappa, whether he was a savior or an un-intending vanquisher realized what the kind of man he was. It was understood well after the war was over and when the Srilankan Government incarcerated three hundred thousand or 25% of the people of region behind the open fences. He was perfect in his view about the Sinhala hardliners and their influence on Srilankan State; never ever trust them.

End of the Armed Struggle for Tamil Eelam by LTTE

All State-actors believed that a non-State actor like LTTE had to be finished but none cared for the origin of LTTE. The Srilanka as a Sovereign State is good enough a reason for them to finish off the LTTE. A non-State actor possessing a lethal skills that were seamlessly portable across continents meant it was deadly for State Actors. Most of the State actors ignored a fact that the actions of the LTTE were simply towards its goal of achieving Tamil Eelam including internecine wars; most of its actions of commissions and omissions had only one underlying motive that is achieving an Independent nation-State, Tamil Eelam. Across the continents, they were engaged in smuggling, hijacking, briefly did drug trafficking, bribing, killing all aimed to aid the war in the Srilankan soil. The reasons for recruitment of children though not acceptable in a civil society were to line up them for the defence of Tamil Eelam. There were threats to the law abiding Srilankan Tamil citizens in Canada, US, Europe all were done to only one cause, to achieve Independent State of Tamil Eelam.

The leadership of LTTE did not grow just to exercise terror on others; it exercised terror only on those who were considered potentially influential for the Srilankan Tamil community and the Srilankan State

against the goal of Tamil Eelam. The leadership existed only for one cause and others reasons were not important. Though the reasons for Origin of LTTE were correct, the acts of terrors can never be excused on these basis; still the world powers will have to exercise their authority against the Srilankan Government and ensure legitimate aspirations of the Srilankan Tamils are met. Today, it is nearly seven years and the solutions related to Srilankan Tamil problems are nothing in sight. Federal questions, at the least, without the use of word Federalism should be agreeable by the Srilankan Government for the help it had received from all the powers of the world including the US and India. But today, still demilitarization is pending; the seized lands are not yet transferred back to the Srilankan Tamils. The need of the hour is to go well beyond the Neelan-GL package to the extent of ISGA and extend it to the Srilankan Tamils; the onus of the same lies with India and the US. The author believes that it is the only possible way to avoid a rebirth of LTTE.

Epilogue

*Be it countryside or a dense wood Be it Valley or a hilly terrain, Where ever
people are kind and good Oh Mother, Good Earth!! Thou art fine!*

Poem: 187

Avvaiyar (PURANANOORU)

Political Scientists have defined Nation as group of People who share the same culture, ethnicity, language or religion. Nation-State or Country is defined as a Political and Geographical entity wherein people of one or multiple Nationalities exist.

These definitions are universal and the countries those fail to recognize the Nations within their State do one or more act of Commissions and Omissions such as: oppression, denial of share in Political power, denial of fair economic opportunities. Such a denial to people may also happen when an ethnic group wield disproportionately higher economic or political or social or religious influence over the rest. In Srilanka, the Tamils of Jaffna were holding higher positions in the Srilanka's Civil and Professional services sowing discontent among Sinhala Chauvinists. Post their Independence from the British, when the political powers were transferred from the British to Sinhalese, the State Oppression against the Srilankan Tamils began.

The discontent based on the economic, religious or linguistic status

cannot be allowed as a base for an Orchestrated Political bias that results in Constitutional levers being used to quench such discontent. Disenfranchisement of nine hundred thousand Tamils immediately after the Independence (to cleverly alter the population percentage overwhelmingly in favour of Sinhalese), the Sinhala only Act of 1956, the Constitutional reforms in 1972 & 1978, and the compellingly blind faith till this day for the retention of Unitary Status and thereby denying Federal Options are all examples of abuse Constitutional levers that potentially could destroy the very fabric of Democracy and Enterprise. If the stakeholders of the State indulge in abuse of Constitutional Levers across the globe, Enterprise would be dead and so the Innovations would be Dead thus bringing down the human civilization to the very end. Srilanka being a Democratic State, and where Democracy allows for registering of such a discontent, the State must have behaved in a more responsible manner. P.V.Narasimha Rao, former Prime Minister of India had rightly pointed out in his speech to the US Congress in 1994, that Governments should not try quick fixes in solving problems. He explicitly argued that such quick fixes always would result in deeper problems for the future.

If a State fails in its responsibilities, the United Nations should step in to deal with such States in a more appropriate way to the extent of stripping off Sovereign rights. Wigneswaran, a former Supreme Court Judge of Srilanka and presently the Chief Minister of the Tamil provinces of the Srilanka, had rightly pointed out in a Public Lecture in Chennai, that the Sovereign rights are granted to Nation-States to

protect the people and not the regimen. In the case of the Srilanka, during the period of its ethnic troubles, most of Western powers and India chose to protect the Srilankan Regime rather than people of Srilanka.

In defense of State's interests a lot of actions are being carried out by Nation-States and its Auxiliary Institutions with a desire for immediate results but at the cost of longterm vision. At times, these actions are due to Political expediency rather than as a result of well thought strategy. All such actions have to be reviewed periodically and discouraged explicitly by Political Heads of the State.

The Organization like LTTE that was promoted with a vision for an Independent Homeland for their people may be banned, but engaging them in dialogue would not be unreasonable. **The acts of terrors from the non-State Actors like LTTE were due to the compulsions that arose because of inadequacies of solutions through democratic means. If such a group is anathema to the World Order and if Governments felt such groups must be crushed, then conditions for giving rise to such an armed groups must be also crushed simultaneously without any qualms. In this case, the conditions were created by a Democratic Nation-State Srilanka in a very systematic manner and one that was always ruled by Civilians rather than dictators!**

It has been more than six and half years after the Srilanka handed crushing military defeat to their Militants. But the reconciliation with the ethnic Tamil minority is still very far-off and nothing tangible in sight. The attempts for amendment to the Constitution has been an

extremely tardy progress. Justice delayed is Justice denied. The US and India should engage the Srilankan Government with coercive diplomacy as advised by the Chief Minister of Tamilnadu J.Jayalalitha in 2015 to ensure justice to the Srilankan Tamils. **The justice must be in the form of Federal solutions going far beyond the GL-Neelan package to the extent of ISGA as proposed by the Anton Balasingham in 2003 to solve the political aspirations of the ethnic minorities of the Srilankan State and as a remedial justice.** If both Governments, the US and India, fail in remedial justice to the Tamils of Srilanka it is a failure of their responsibility towards humanity on the whole.

Perhaps in one of the articles or in an Interview, Col. Hariharan had written that whether the killing of Srilankan Tamils should be called as genocidal because, he compared the killings that happened in Middle-Eastern Countries in Asia, because in terms of numbers it were only so many thousands in mid-east vs so many only thousands in Srilanka. He conveniently forgot that although the Srilankan Tamils are part of the huge Tamil Community, they have earned and retained a unique identity as Srilankan Tamils (or Eelam Tamils) whose population is around 4 million across the world. From the onset of the war close to One million of them have been displaced overseas and few more have been displaced within Srilanka besides death and devastation. These figures are despite Indian intervention!

When three hundred thousand people were incarcerated in the Manik farm that constituted nearly 25% if the population of the North-Eastern provinces of Tamils being behind the barricades a figure very

serious to be considered as genocidal tendencies.

As the above case being the opinion of Learned Security Analysts, or the experts who advise the Governments, one may feel compelled to ask a question as whether both the Governments – the US and India - would act in a way giving rise to hopes for a solution to the Srilankan Tamil ethnic issues.

If hopes were dupes, then fears would be liars!!

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